THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 152 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · FEBRUARY 1, 1941 NUMBER 5

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 113

EDITORIALS

A Lindbergh Peace 115
Rumanian Frenzy 116
C. I. O. Solution for Defense Housing 117
Ambassador Dodd Speaks *by Freda Kirchwey* 118

ARTICLES

One-Sided Horse Trade *by I. F. Stone* 120
India and the War *by Jawaharlal Nehru* 121
Passports to Nowhere *by Joachim Joesten* 124
Our Gerrymandered States *by Richard L. Neuberger* 127
Everybody's Business *by Keith Hutchison* 128
In the Wind 129
A Native at Large *by Jonathan Daniels* 130

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

A Note on Order *by W. H. Auden* 131
Elegy for James Joyce *by Ivan Goll* 133
The Way of the Vanguard *by Philip Rahv* 133
Literary Autobiography *by Dorothy Van Doren* 134
In Brief 136
Drama: Tragedy Is Not Easy *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 136
Art: Greco for Greece *by Christopher Lazare* 137
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 138

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 139

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor ROBERT BENDINER
Washington Editor I. F. STONE
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager
MARY HOWARD ELLISON

Published weekly and copyright, 1941, in the U. S. A. by The Nation, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Washington Bureau: 856 National Press Building, Washington, D. C. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

The Shape of Things

THE CONSCRIPTION OF LABOR IN BRITAIN, recently announced by Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor, seems on the face of it a retreat from the relatively enlightened social policy followed by the British government in recent months. Yet there are compelling reasons why some such step should be taken. According to Churchill's statement Britain has today some 4,000,000 men under arms. Most of these men have been taken out of trade or industry. But Britain's need for supplies and war materials has never been greater. And maximum production cannot be obtained unless every man is not only employed but employed in the kind of work most needed by the country. The shift of manpower from the export and other non-essential industries to the war industries has not been proceeding as smoothly as it should. Some compulsion seems, therefore, defensible as an emergency measure. But if such an extreme step is to be taken, labor has the right to ask that capital make an equivalent sacrifice. The counterpart of conscription of labor is a capital levy. Although there has been some increase in taxation, British capital has so far gotten off fairly lightly. Only about a third of Britain's war expenditures are being defrayed out of taxes. In contrast, Germany is said to be meeting half of its expenditures by taxation. Thus under present conditions British labor is carrying not only the increased burden of production but, through the effect of inflation and declining living standards, is carrying a large part of the financial burden of the war as well.

*

THE SURVIVAL OF THE *DAILY WORKER* IN wartime Britain has been something of a miracle and it is not altogether surprising that the British government has now ordered the suppression of this paper as well as of *The Week*, a news-letter which followed the party line. We can understand the government's impatience with the "defeatism" which the British Communist organ has been dishing out since Moscow looped the loop at the beginning of the war, but we are sorry it has been goaded into such an assertion of its emergency powers. Several independent Labor members of Parliament have put down a motion expressing their "detestation" of the *Daily Worker's* propaganda while regretting that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

action against it was taken under the defense regulations instead of by court proceedings which would have afforded it a chance to state its case. This seems to us fair criticism. In defending his action Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, said that their publishers had been warned last July. Nevertheless they had continuously "by every device of distortion and misrepresentation sought to make out that our people have nothing to gain from victory." We have no doubt that the allegation is well founded but we still wonder if these Communist sheets were sufficiently influential to justify their suppression. Most British workers have long ceased to be befuddled by Communist propaganda. In fact, the occasional usefulness of the *Daily Worker* as a gadfly to bureaucracy—in the matter of air-raid shelters for instance—has been largely destroyed by just suspicions of its ulterior motives.

⁂

ONE OF BRITAIN'S COLONEL BLIMPS HAS flourished his old school tie once too often and neatly choked himself. Recently Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Charles Bingham wrote to the London *Times* to the effect that the middle and working-classes had fallen down on the job of providing officer material. Boys from these classes, pontificated the Colonel, fail in the art of "management"—unlike "the old aristocratic feudal classes" they never had "their people" to consider. "Never was the old school tie and the best it stands for more justified than today." In *blitzkrieged* Britain, overemphasis on class distinctions is definitely déclassé and this voice from the past raised a storm in press and Parliament. Now the War Office has descended heavily on Colonel Bingham, reprimanding him for communicating with the press on military subjects in breach of army regulations and relieving him of his command of the training unit. This should prove a salutary lesson to other brass-hats still fighting Waterloo on the playing-fields of Eton.

⁂

TO THE CATHOLICS IN THIS COUNTRY WHO think General Franco's regime heralds the rebirth of a Christian Europe, we recommend an article which appeared recently in *Arriba,* organ of the Spanish Phalanx and its chief, Serrano Suñer. According to a dispatch in the New York *Times,* this article asserted that Franco reserves the right to intercept at sea any ships which may leave France carrying Spanish refugees to Mexico and other American countries. The "Christian" Franco is outdoing the "pagan" Hitler in his hounding of political opponents. "The Spanish government," writes *Arriba,* "reserves full right to maintain watch on these embarkments at Marseilles and the justice of Spain will not permit assassins of three years of red storms to flee under the paternal care of France." What this "paternal care" amounts to is shown by the protest which the Mexican government has been forced to present to Vichy regarding the detention in unoccupied France of Francisco Largo Caballero and other former officials of the Republican government. This protest gives full confirmation of the arrest of Caballero which was solemnly denied in Vichy and elsewhere.

⁂

DETAILS REGARDING THE CLASH IN CHINA between the new Fourth Route Army and regular Kuomintang troops indicate that a grave situation has arisen. According to a dispatch from Edgar Snow in the New York *Herald Tribune,* the rear guard of the Fourth Army, consisting of 8,000 men, was attacked early in January by twenty-seven divisions of Central government troops as it was preparing to cross the Yangtse to take up positions assigned by the Chungking War Office. A nine-day battle ensued in which the Fourth Route Army lost 4,000 men, including its commander, Yeh Ting, who was captured, and the second in command, Hang Yung, who was wounded, captured, and subsequently murdered. Other American observers who have just arrived in this country fully confirm Snow's analysis of the background of the conflict. As early as last summer the Fourth Route Army received orders from Ho Ying-chin, right-wing War Minister, to evacuate the rich Yangtse valley and move northward. The leaders of the Fourth Army agreed to make the move but asked that arrangements be made for the protection of the partisan troops left behind, for the care of the wounded, and peaceful transit through the territory occupied by Kuomintang troops. None of these arrangements was ever made. Instead, the Kuomintang troops fell upon the retreating Fourth Route Army and all but destroyed it. Similar though less severe clashes have occurred in the past between the Eighth Route Army and the troops of local warlords. In each case, the conflict has been patched up without seriously affecting Chinese unity. But the recent clash is admittedly more fundamental. Should it spread to include the Eighth Route Army, many observers fear that the centralized authority of Chiang Kai-shek would be jeopardized and that general civil war would result. Needless to say, such a conflict would nullify, if it did not bring to an end, the assistance now given China by the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States.

⁂

THE TRUCE BETWEEN THAILAND AND INDO-China appears to be a victory of the first order for Japan. Early reports from Vichy assert that Japan has demanded the right to occupy certain ports in Cambodia as a price for mediation of the conflict. Ostensibly the Japanese fleet is to occupy the ports in order to enforce the terms of the settlement. But it is evident that the possession of naval bases in south Indo-China and Thailand would be of tremendous assistance to Japan in the event of an attack on Singapore, Burma, or the Dutch East Indies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

According to the latest information available, the Vichy government has not yet acceded to the Japanese demands. But there seems little chance that the French will be able to offer effective opposition unless support is forthcoming from Great Britain or the United States.

*

WE CAN FIND NO KIND THINGS TO SAY OF Justice McReynolds on the occasion of his retirement. More than any other member of the old court he typified that narrow philosophy which so long made the Constitution seem a part of a Magna Carta for Wall Street's barons. To Mr. Roosevelt, about to appoint a successor, McReynolds may well stand as a monument to the dangers involved in the use of the Supreme Court as a place to which officials otherwise unsatisfactory can be "kicked upstairs." For Wilson named McReynolds to the court when he wanted to get rid of him as attorney general. The President has said that he has already made his choice. Attorney General Robert H. Jackson and Senator James F. Byrnes are said to be leading contenders for the job. The President owes a debt to Byrnes for his services in the Senate and during the campaign. But in spite of support for many New Deal measures, he remains essentially a Southern conservative. Mr. Jackson's presence on the court would, on the other hand, strengthen the liberal majority; and fortunately a most admirable successor to the attorney general would be available in his own department—the present Solicitor General, Francis Biddle.

*

THE PRESIDENT MADE A MOVE IN THE RIGHT direction when he nominated Dean G. Acheson as Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Acheson is a person of broad interests and liberal outlook. It is officially suggested that his particular function will be to act as a link between the department and both the British Embassy and the Treasury in the matter of British purchases. But it may be assumed that the President hopes Mr. Acheson's presence in the State Department will also serve as a general leaven. No one man, however, is likely to create enough ferment to affect so unyielding and solid a lump. If the department is ever to be brought in line with the aims and policies of the Administration as a whole, resignations as well as new appointments will be necessary. Mr. Acheson is needed in the State Department, but he will be lonely there.

*

THE COMMITTEE NAMED BY THE NATIONAL Association of Manufacturers to investigate textbooks will no doubt be prepared to walk a mile to evade any notice of the testimony taken last week by the Securities Exchange Commission in the Electric Bond and Share case. Testimony revealed that Herbert Dorau, professor of economics at New York University, and John T. Madden, dean of its school of commerce, had received approximately $150,000 between 1936 and 1938 from the Edison Electric Institute. The revelation came after Dorau had been put on the witness stand as an "expert" by Electric Bond and Share. Dorau, who is also chairman of the department of public utilities and transport in the university's school of commerce, gave a long list of articles and monographs he had written. He is author of the chapter on public utilities in a textbook on economics used at the university. His financial relations with the Edison Electric Institute came out under cross-examination. He had worked for Electric Bond and Share and for Associated Gas and Electric. He said that both he and Madden, who operated a joint banking account, were given jobs at $1,200 a month each by Simpson, Thacher, and Bartlett as utility experts for Edison Electric Institute. Dorau said his work for the Institute was "a matter of analysis and conviction." It is nice when one's analysis and convictions coincide with $1,200 a month.

A Lindbergh Peace

PASSED through its baptism of fire, the President's bill to aid the British has scarcely been singed. One would have expected that so doughty a quintet as Lindbergh, Kennedy, Castle, MacNider, and Hugh Johnson, given a national rostrum, would leap to the charge, fists flying. Instead, with one exception, they hedged about and moved cautiously. Although opposed to the lease-lend bill, Castle and Johnson favored a large measure of aid, under strict Congressional controls; MacNider told the committee, "It would be a very unhappy day for America if Great Britain were defeated"; and Kennedy's equivocal testimony at one point came so close to an endorsement of the bill that he was roundly applauded by Administration supporters in the audience. The leaders of those who a few short months ago scoffed at "aid short of war" as hypocritical or illusory now urged aid short of the lend-lease bill. Gone completely—or almost completely—was the insistence that aid once undertaken must move on inevitably to full aid and war. The isolationists are fighting a rear-guard action.

The glaring exception among the witnesses heard so far is Colonel Lindbergh, who hopes for an immediate "negotiated peace"; who argues that the United States is largely to blame for the war because it enticed France and Britain into battle by promises of help; who believes that Britain's position is becoming "more and more desperate" and that further aid from this country can only prolong the conflict; who finds between England and Germany "not as much difference in philosophy as we have been led to believe"; and who would "prefer to see neither side win."

Another flying colonel, Clarence Chamberlin, who likewise flew across the Atlantic and should therefore be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

privileged to testify, thinks that "either Lindbergh doesn't know what he is talking about or he's been bitten by the Nazi bug." There is probably a good deal of truth in both alternatives, but the analysis seems somewhat on the crude side. From his testimony we should say that Lindbergh is less the ignoramus, less the Nazi, than he is the forerunner of that American hemispheric imperialism which will blossom forth should England go down to defeat.

The pattern has long been forming. The Lindberghs of this country—and the Eagle is not as lone as we could wish—want to see an immediate "negotiated peace," which at this point in the war means a peace dictated by Hitler. (What other peace could there be between a Germany that rules a continent and an England growing "more and more desperate"?) The military effects which such a catastrophe would have on our own situation are dismissed by the Colonel with utter irresponsibility. Aviation, he tells us, has made our defense much easier; hence we need not worry about a German victory. On the other hand aviation has made our power to attack much harder; hence we must abandon all thought of carrying the fight to Europe. Ergo, there can be no real war between the United States and Europe, the British navy means nothing to us, and England can sink out of sight for all it matters to our safety.

It is a pity that the House Committee which listened to Lindbergh didn't take the trouble to analyze an argument which is as dangerous as it is specious. No one in his senses thinks primarily of the German threat in terms of bombs over St. Louis, or even over Sandy Hook. The danger is that a victorious Germany would be a power stretching from Russia to the Irish coast, a power whose industries, resources, naval strength, and vast supplies of slave labor could compel this country to go fascist without the firing of a shot. We would have to arm to the teeth in defense; we would go rampantly imperialist if for no other reason than to assure the Western Hemisphere for American autarchy; we would mercilessly beat down the American standard of living not only to pay for our arms but even to exist economically in a German-dominated world. And in the end we would have to fight, without the British Navy and without England as a vantage point from which to conduct an offensive.

This prospect is not of our fabricating. It is a prospect that is already germinating in the minds of the Lindberghs. Even now the Colonel talks glibly of setting up "aviation bases in Newfoundland, Canada, the West Indies, parts of South America, and Central America," and some months ago he stated flatly that we ought to step in and control Canada's foreign policy. Colonel Lindbergh and we see eye to eye on the consequences of a Hitler victory; but the Colonel thinks of the vision as American Empire and finds it good, while we find in it only fascism and the promise of wars to come.

Rumanian Frenzy

FOR the second time since the German army occupied Rumania that unhappy country has suffered an appalling spasm of violence. Only a confused account of the outbreak has yet percolated through the censorship, and its immediate causes, in particular, remain extremely obscure. But it would not be inaccurate to diagnose the revolt of the Iron Guard as a case of severe schizophrenia—the uncontrollable physical reaction of souls torn between admiration for Hitler and realization that he has betrayed them.

The Iron Guard did not originate as a foreign offshoot of national socialism. It was an indigenous, intensely nationalistic movement on parallel lines, which shared the Nazis' anti-Semitism and diseased mysticism. Like its counterpart in Germany it had an economic basis in the land hunger of the peasants and the job-hunger of the urban middle classes. As Hitler's star rose it looked upon him with increasing admiration and hope and gladly became his subsidized fifth column in Rumania. The first great shock of the Iron Guard was the settlement imposed by Germany last fall which gave most of Transylvania to Hungary—a bitter blow to nationalist pride already wounded by the surrender of Bessarabia and the Dobrudja. However the opportunity to drive King Carol out of the country, to indulge in pogroms against the Jews, and to wreak revenge on internal enemies offered a temporary safety valve. Moreover the Guard was declared the sole legal party in the country and its leaders were given high office.

Meanwhile the Germans had marched in ostensibly to instruct the Rumanian army in modern warfare. But more and more divisions arrived and with them came economic experts and purchasing agents whose requisitions increased the scarcity of goods and sharpened the economic crisis. If the Iron Guard looked to the Nazis for help in achieving the break-up of the great estates or for action against the industrial monopolists, they were disappointed. It was soon clear that German methods of exploitation precluded such reforms; for they needed to squeeze Rumania to the utmost and it is well known that the first result of giving land to half-starved peasants is to increase home consumption and decrease the marketable surplus. Nor did it suit the Nazi book to destroy the industrial magnates: they preferred to use them as they had used their own Thyssens and Krupps.

General Antonescu proved himself the obedient servant of Hitler and, with German soldiers available to back him, his need of the Iron Guard lessened. The report that he was negotiating with the Bratianus, the fabulously weathy clan which controls a huge slice of Rumania's economy, probably showed the Iron Guard that its position was being undermined and drove it to revolt. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

actual signal for the outbreak was the murder of a German officer—an indication that it was aimed not only at Antonescu but at his Nazi backers.

This Rumanian tragedy illustrates once again the mad folly of fascists outside Germany who offer their services to Hitler and expect in return the opportunity to fulfil their own social and national ambitions. He is always prepared to use them to disrupt the countries he hopes to conquer but, this achieved, he is equally ready to liquidate them should their demands conflict with his own plans. Even complete acceptance of the Nazi philosophy will not appease Hitler; he requires also unswerving obedience and acknowledgment of the paramountcy of German interests. There is a lesson in Rumania for appeasers at Vichy—and for some nearer home.

C.I.O. Solution for Defense Housing

THE DIVISION in the labor movement, otherwise deplorable, has at least one good by-product. The C. I. O., with no real foothold in the building trades, does not share the A. F. of L.'s vested interests in established methods of housing construction. The result is that the C. I. O., through its recently organized housing committee, has now issued a fairly detailed proposal for the use of prefabricated materials to solve the growing problem of defense housing. One small example given by a speaker at the tenth annual meeting of the National Public Housing Conference in New York will serve to illustrate the way in which a housing shortage may interfere with defense production. Peter Flynn, vice-president of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, C. I. O., said that many key workers in New Jersey plants were forced to refuse overtime work because of the long distances they had to travel between their homes and places of work.

We hope the C. I. O.'s plea for the use of prefabricated housing will not meet the same indifference that greeted its previous proposal along the same lines last October 14. Since that proposal was made to the Defense Commission, the problem has grown more serious and the C. I. O. housing committee has gone further into the possibilities of prefabrication. The subject holds special attractions for the C. I. O. because of its strong position in the steel industry, which would be stimulated by prefabricated housing. The C. I. O. believes that use of prefabricated parts has four advantages. Such houses can be put up far faster than ordinary ones. There is no dislocation of industry and labor, since it is not necessary to move large numbers of construction workers to the sites where houses are needed. Instead the parts are manufactured in industrial centers and shipped to the point needed for assembly. Prefabricated housing is also cheaper and it has a high salvage value. Homes may be dismantled and moved when the emergency is over.

Lumber, brick, cement, and contracting interests, and no doubt the A. F. of L. building trades as well, will fight the plan. For emergency or war-time expansion of prefabricated housing might endanger their position in the future by bringing about a sharp reduction in the cost of housing and rendering older methods obsolete. The C. I. O.'s detailed analysis of the difficulties to be encountered in the use of conventional methods indicates the need for overriding these objections, and the possibility that this may open the way to wider use of prefabricated housing later should be an extra inducement, not an obstacle. Unfortunately vested interests in both capital and labor will find strong support from the new defense housing setup at the capital, where C. F. Palmer, real estate dealer from Atlanta, Georgia, has been made coordinator of defense housing.

The objections to Mr. Palmer rest not merely on his record, which shows him to be unfriendly to public housing and hostile to new and cheaper methods; they have to do also with the curious manner in which Mr. Palmer has been made independent of the Defense Commission and thereby subject to no check either from labor's representative, Sidney Hillman, or from the consumer representative, Harriet Elliott. Mr. Palmer, as housing adviser to the Defense Commission, had already demonstrated his unwillingness to cooperate with either. The same group to whom our Washington editor two weeks ago attributed the palace cabal which sought to strip Hillman of authority in the new Office of Production Management reappears in the story of Palmer's mysteriouse elevation. In this case, too, Harold Smith, Director of the Budget, and William H. McReynolds, one of the President's administrative assistants, seem to have played leading parts. An order was framed making Palmer coordinator over all other housing authorities and subordinate only to the President, and Mr. Roosevelt's signature was obtained before the Defense Commission knew what was happening. We cannot believe that the purpose of that order was fully explained to the President.

Since his mysterious elevation, Mr. Palmer, by appointing Harold E. Pomeroy, formerly executive secretary of the Associated Farmers of California, as one of his chief aids, has added to the bad impression he has already made. Mr. Pomeroy claims that he was misled into working for the Associated Farmers and left his job with them after a year's time. Mr. Pomeroy is not a vigilante or a thug or a fascist. But he has been associated during most of his career with reactionary business and political interests in California. The C. I. O.'s housing report had to be made to the new coordinator of defense housing. So novel and disturbing an idea is unlikely to get a warm welcome from either Palmer or Pomeroy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ambassador Dodd Speaks

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IF WILLIAM E. DODD were alive his contribution to the great debate in Washington would be more important than that of all the other witnesses together. For Mr. Dodd served as American Ambassador at Berlin during almost five of the eight years of Hitler's rule. He watched the consolidation of Nazi power and the expanding menace of Hitler's ambition. Beside his testimony the theories of Lindbergh and Kennedy would have shriveled into their natural proportions.

Some suggestion of the story Mr. Dodd would have told may be found in the paragraphs which follow. They are taken from his Berlin diary,* an amazing account, frank and bold and realistic, of Europe's descent into war. Naturally it does not offer direct testimony as to Hitler's ultimate intentions toward the United States and the world. Rather it documents the record of broken promises, of mounting fear in the smaller nations, of suicidal hesitations and concessions on the part of the great powers. It shows the direction if not the goal of Hitler's ambition. It records the countless warnings which were duly transmitted to—and filed in—Washington. The scattered fragments printed below are only a hint of what will be available when the "Diary" is published. I offer them as a poor but useful substitute for the testimony of a man who died too soon.

October 17, 1933, Tuesday. I went today at 12 o'clock to see Chancellor Hitler . . . The Chancellor was clearly excited. I asked him why he had withdrawn from the League. He ranted about the Treaty of Versailles, the failure of the powers to keep their promises about disarmament and the indignity of keeping Germany in a defenseless status. I replied: There is evident injustice in the French attitude; but defeat in war is always followed by injustice. . . .

After an exchange of niceties, I asked the Chancellor whether an incident on the Polish, Austrian, or French border which drew an enemy into the Reich would be allowed to be a *casus belli.* Of course he said, "No, no." I then said in case such a thing were to occur in the Ruhr valley would you hold off and call a conference of the European powers? He said: "That would be my purpose, but we might not be able to restrain the German people." . . . My final impression was of his belligerence and self-confidence.

June 18, 1934, Monday. As I was about to go [after a call on Von Bülow, Under-Secretary of State], I asked about the Venice conference. He said promptly: "We declined the Far East pact with Russia and Poland which Litvinov urged because we are not armed and could not participate on equal and safe terms. It involved Germans in a guarantee of the Baltic states' safety, and also Czechoslovakia's, against aggression of any kind." It was plain that Hitler is not willing to allow these states with German minorities to maintain their independence. . . .

November 1, Thursday. At 6 o'clock, I returned the formal call of the Soviet Ambassador, Suritz. He talked rather freely about Russian economic life and gave me an inkling of negotiations with Hitler in spite of the Nazi hatred of everything Russian. I believe Hitler is trying to negotiate a pact with the Soviets like that with the Poles, mainly to scare the French. . . .

November 17, Saturday. The Polish Ambassador, Lipski, called . . . and remained nearly an hour. He was frank in the discussion of Polish-German relations: "The pact of last winter is only a temporary affair. Germany intends to re-annex part of our country, the maps posted all over Germany show this clearly. . . . The Russians and the Germans are negotiating a commercial treaty which I think has a political and military pact attached, but it is secret, and these negotiations are going on largely to isolate France." . . .

Germany, he went on, intends to re-annex Alsace-Lorraine and large parts of Poland as well as Austria and Czechoslovakia. Then she will control the Balkan region zone and all the Baltic Sea. Europe will be a German realm if she succeeds.

December 10, Monday. . . . At 11 this morning the Dutch Minister told me the same thing that the Belgian told me last week. "Germany will annex Holland if she wins a European war." He was very positive in this, and also perturbed about the Japanese denunciation of the Treaty of Washington. "It means war if the United States and England do not unite in their Far Eastern policy. England will lose her Hongkong and other Chinese concessions, the United States will find the Philippines annexed to Japan, and we, the Dutch people, will lose our three-hundred-year-old Far Eastern holdings." . . .

April 4, 1935, Thursday. . . . I learned of a confidential interview with Benes, about the end of March, in which the Czech Premier said his country would fight . . . . if [its] allies helped; otherwise, there was nothing to do but capitulate to Germany's terms . . . I wonder if Benes doubts the validity of French and English promises.

March 7, 1936, Saturday. . . . Already the news had come that Hitler was to address the Reichstag assembly today at 12 o'clock! When Mayer returned at 11 o'clock, he brought a summary of Hitler's propositions: he was sending some 30,000 troops into the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland; he proposed an agreement with France and Belgium to demilitarize both sides of the Rhine, also the Dutch border on the German side; he would denounce the Locarno pact between Germany, France, Italy,

* Reproduced by special permission of Harcourt, Brace and Company from "Ambassador Dodd's Diary," edited by Martha Dodd and William E. Dodd, Jr., to be published February 20.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and England because France was signing a pact with Russia; he would return to the League of Nations and be ready to limit aircraft with Western powers, and would demand the restoration of German colonies. . . .

March 18, Wednesday. I went to see Von Neurath at 11:30 to get his reactions to events since March 7. He was suave and smiling as if everything he had discussed with me February 29 had worked out according to his advice. He even denied what he told me on the former occasion, namely, that he was urging a diplomatic solution of the Rhine demilitarization matter. I suppose it is impossible to trust even the more conservative members of the government. . . .

April 4, Saturday. . . . We learn today that some Austrian and Czechoslovak Germans are new members of the Reichstag. The fact that Hitler decreed them members is symbolic of his so-called peace policy. The claim of the right to annex parts or all of these countries is thus subtly announced. . . .

April 7, Tuesday. . . . I went to see the British Ambassador on the same street. Sir Eric Phipps . . . knows contemporary Europe as few others do. In January he was ready to help his government to the limit against German aggression and willing to support the French-Soviet pact, wrangled over in Europe for a year. He had said then that France and England were offering a solid front and Italy was expected to join them.

Today he was uncertain about what his country should do in any direction. All Europe is in a critical situation. Italy may seize all Ethiopia and even Egypt, which would mean immediate war in the Mediterranean. France might break across the German western frontier which England would not support. Germany is preparing to the limit for eastern aggression and England won't do anything. I said: That means a new Europe, with France declining, England losing her empire and Germany becoming the master of all.

September 26, Saturday. . . . Today the Minister from the Netherlands said to me: "We are all sure that Germany intends to annex our country in due time, also Switzerland and other countries where people of the medieval German race lived or left descendants." . . .

He was both anxious and pessimistic as he went away, saying: "Unless your country and England and France and Russia work together for world peace there is no way to avoid a world war."

November 15, Sunday. . . . The Argentine Minister said . . . that Paul Scheffer of the *Berliner Tageblatt,* who had been visiting Latin American representatives here, spent an hour with him. Scheffer had represented the Foreign Office, he thought, and perhaps the Propaganda Ministry. He criticized the whole American program in Latin America, said it was a renewal of the Monroe Doctrine in its former aggressive shape and that Roosevelt had no right to influence South American policy. . . .

The real fear here and in Rome is that the President may organize all American peoples against Fascist Europe and even boycott any power that starts another war.

June 2, 1937, Wednesday. . . . The new English Ambassador here is reported to be in full sympathy with the German-Italian aggression in Spain. His name is Henderson, and he was in Argentina several years before coming here. He had already revealed his complete pro-Franco attitude, seemingly unaware of the dangers to England. He is also reported to have informed the German Government that England would make no objections if Hitler seized Austria and Czechoslovakia. . . .

June 17, Thursday. Hitler has made a speech to young Italians just at the time when the papers are boasting of the peace talk with England which Von Neurath is going to London to negotiate. Hitler talked of his readiness for war. People in the United States seem determined to stay neutral even facing a Europe under the control of a single dictatorship. . . .

June 20, Sunday. . . . The Latvian Military Attaché spoke freely of the dangerous probable consequences of Russia's weakening position. The Czech Minister was more concerned about the threats to his little country. . . . He reported that he had made a formal protest to the German Foreign Office about falsehoods as to his government's encouraging maltreatment of Germans in Czechoslovakia. His wife said to my wife: "If Germany attacks our country, Russia will come at once to our defense." I doubt this, unless France attacks Germany in the Rhine zone.

June 23, Wednesday. Concerned about the British attitude, I went to see Ambassador Henderson. . . . He said: "My government has been unwise in its relations with Germany. I told Von Neurath that, and also told him Hitler's decision to keep Von Neurath at home was equally unwise."

He turned to a general discussion of things: "Germany under Hitler is renewing the Bismarck policy of annexing all European peoples of German descent, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other countries." Although I had suspected Henderson was inclined to favor German annexations, I did not think he would go so far in his statements. He then added: "Germany must dominate the Danube-Balkan zone, which means that she is to dominate Europe. England and her Empire is to dominate the seas along with the United States. England and Germany must come into close relations, economic and political, and control the world." He said: "France is a back number and unworthy of support. Franco is to control Spain." . . . I wonder if Ambassador Henderson really represents his government? What would happen to Britain if Germany annexed all the peoples all the way to the Black Sea?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One-Sided Horse Trade

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 25

THE BAR and the press become exercised over the problems of administrative law only when some important administrative agency is in danger of performing its task effectively. The Interstate Commerce Commission was established in 1887, but few worried about its procedure as long as it was rendered innocuous by judicial decision. Then Congress in 1906 gave the Commission explicit power to make railroad rates.

"Once the inevitability of clothing the Commission with rate-making power was recognized," I. L. Sharfman writes in his monumental study of the Commission, "a bitter legislative conflict was waged on the issue of judicial review." The railroad lawyers seemed to be concerned with lofty problems of jurisprudence. Their purpose was so to multiply the possibilities of appeal to the courts as to render it difficult for the I.C.C. to make use of its powers.

The Walter-Logan bill sprang from a similar desire to render New Deal regulatory agencies ineffective by interminable litigation, after it became clear that the laws establishing them could neither be repealed in Congress nor overturned in the courts. The chief target of the forces behind the bill was the National Labor Relations Board, but the campaign for its enactment was represented as a kind of crusade for the reform of administrative law. Mr. Roosevelt's strategy was to appoint a committee to make a study of administrative agencies. The committee was not encouraged to be hasty, and until last month the President's lieutenants in Congress were able to stall a vote on the Walter-Logan bill on the plea that the experts had not yet reported. Unfortunately the Committee has now made its report, and its publication, after the President's veto of the Walter-Logan bill, will only serve to revive a campaign the report was intended to moderate. For the Committee has accompanied it with a bill, and the bill represents an attempt to appease.

There is good reason to suspect that the bill was the result of a one-sided horse-trade. The majority, including Chairman Dean Acheson, had its heart set on a unanimous report. In order to obtain that unanimous report the majority seems to have agreed to certain proposals it might not have accepted otherwise. The minority then resorted to a maneuver. Arthur T. Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar Association; Dean E. Blythe Stason of the University of Michigan Law School, and former Assistant Attorney General Carl McFarland, filed what is in effect a vigorous minority report, embodying proposals worse if anything than the Walter-Logan bill. But instead of calling it a dissent, they call it "Additional Views and Recommendations."

Chief Justice D. Lawrence Groner of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, who seems to have been a fellow traveler of the American Liberty League, filed a separate dissent, disagreeing with both the majority and the minority. He did not think the minority went far enough. Yet even his dissent is entitled "Additional Views." It is true that both Groner and the minority are willing to accept the majority bill if they can get nothing better, but this is an odd kind of unanimity. It is as though a committee to investigate prohibition had "unanimously" reported that wise public policy called only for legalization of 3½ per cent beer, while three members appended an "additional view" proposing the sale of light wine, gin, and whiskey, and another member put in a word for corn likker.

"No single fact," the Committee found, "is more striking in a review of existing Federal administrative agencies than the variety of duties entrusted to them. This central fact makes generalization in description difficult. It makes even more difficult generalization in prescription." The Committee has nevertheless attempted a prescription for the thirty-two agencies covered by its 1,000-page report. These involve bodies as dissimilar as the I.C.C. and the Bureau of Entomology, legislation as diverse as the Federal Reserve Act and the Importation of Adulterated Seeds Act, activities as far apart as the licensing of live-poultry dealers and the fixing of rates for soft coal. Yet the Committee seeks to establish some uniformity among them beyond the uniformity of fair hearing and due process imposed by the courts. All would be authorized to issue declaratory rulings, in advance of an actual case. All would be required to establish independent hearing commissioners for the taking of testimony, and to accept limitations on their own power to review that testimony. Lawyers outside any of these administrative bodies could propose rules and regulations of their own devising, a pastime which would be limited only by the amount of their retainers. The administrative agencies would have to let Congress know why it had rejected proposed rules submitted to it. Finally the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, would appoint a Director of Federal Administra-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tive Procedure with full power to make life miserable for any administrative officer by conducting investigations, hearing complaints and making uniform rules.

These changes would weaken the independence of the administrative agency, and increase the area of litigation and legalistic arguments. This is not the way to preserve the "poor man's law" which the President's great veto message on the Walter-Logan bill championed.

It is a pity that the majority of the Committee were led to espouse these measures, for the report itself is a splendid document, clearly and vividly written, without legal gibberish, and with an undertone of dead-pan humor. Professor Walter Gellhorn of Columbia, as head of the technical staff which prepared it, deserves to be congratulated on the accomplishment of the huge task assigned to him. The humor may be unconscious, but it is implicit in the Committee's solemn acceptance of the pretense that the forces behind the Walter-Logan bill were primarily interested, not in cutting the gizzards out of the Labor Board and the Federal Power Commission and the S.E.C., but in administrative law as a whole.

While the Labor Board is found to have already applied most of the general recommendations made by the Committee, and the S.E.C. is criticized only for leaning over backwards in its anxiety to be fair, older agencies come in for more serious reproof. The Post Office Department, which has many administrative duties, has yet to formulate rules of practice. The Alcohol Tax Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue is unreasonably unwilling to issue declaratory rulings. In cases where the widow of a veteran "is accused of open, notorious, adulterous cohabitation," the Board of Veterans' Appeals need not disclose the identity of her accuser. The War Department is a model of bad behavior. It fixes rates for toll bridges without "formal findings of fact or conclusions of law" so that persons affected are "unaware of the methods of computation or standards applicable." Most of these agencies, notably the War Department, were thoughtfully exempted from the Walter-Logan bill.

India and the War

BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[*The following article is a newly written epilogue to the autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru, published in England five years ago and soon to be brought out here by the John Day Company in a revised edition. Shortly after its completion Nehru was imprisoned by the British authorities for "publicly advocating passive resistance to the British war effort."*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

FIVE and a half years ago, sitting in my prison barrack in the Almora District Jail, I wrote the last line of my autobiography. Eight months later I added a postscript from Badenweiler in Germany. That autobiography, published in England, had a kindly reception from all manner of people in various countries, and I was glad that what I had written had brought India nearer to many friends abroad, and had made them appreciate, to some extent, the inner significance of our struggle for freedom. Unfortunately this book did not reach the American public, and various happenings conspired to delay an American edition. I am happy that at last it is going to appear in a new garb in America.

My publisher asked me to add to it in order to bring it up to date. His demand was reasonable, and I could not deny it. And yet I find it no easy matter to comply with it. We live in strange times, when life's normal course has been completely upset, and it is difficult for me even to communicate with my publisher. America seems to be very far away from India now, and sometimes it takes many months for letters to cross the oceans.

I was affected more than others by the development of events in Europe and the Far East. Munich was a shock hard to bear, and the tragedy of Spain became a personal sorrow to me. As these years of horror succeeded one another, the sense of impending catastrophe overwhelmed me, and my faith in a bright future for the world became dim.

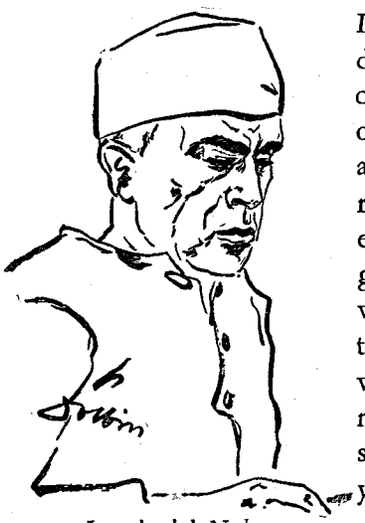
And now the catastrophe has come. The volcanoes in Europe spit fire and destruction, and here in India I sit on the edge of another volcano, not knowing when it may burst. It is difficult to tear myself away from the problem of the moment, to develop the mood of retrospection and survey these five years that have gone by, and write calmly about them. I shall endeavor, therefore, as best I may, to refer briefly only to certain events and developments in which I have played a part or which have affected me.

Again and again, during the past few years, I considered resigning from my position as head of the Congress executive. I found it difficult to work smoothly with my own colleagues, and it became clear to me that they viewed my activities with apprehension. It was not so much that they objected to any specific act, but they disliked the general trend and direction. They had justi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fication for this, as my outlook was different. I was completely loyal to Congress decisions, but I emphasized certain aspects of them, while my colleagues emphasized other aspects. I decided finally to resign, and I informed Gandhi of my decision.

Soon afterward a far-away occurrence, unconnected with India, affected me greatly and made me change my decision. This was the news of General Franco's revolt in Spain. I saw this rising, with its background of German and Italian assistance, developing into a European or even a world conflict. India was bound to be drawn into this, and I could not afford to weaken our organization and create an internal crisis by resigning just when it was essential for us to pull together. I was not wholly wrong in my analysis of the situation, though I was premature and my mind rushed to conclusions which took some years to materialize.



Jawaharlal Nehru

The reaction of the Spanish War on me indicates how, in my mind, the problem of India was tied up with other world problems. More and more I came to think that these separate problems, political or economic, in China, Abyssinia, Spain, Central Europe, India, or elsewhere, were facets of one and the same world problem. There could be no final solution of any one of them till this basic problem was solved. And in all probability there would be upheaval and disaster before the final solution was reached. As peace was said to be indivisible in the present-day world, so also freedom was indivisible, and the world could not continue for long part free, part unfree. The challenge of fascism and Nazism was in essence the challenge of imperialism. They were twin brothers, with this variation, that imperialism functioned abroad in colonies and dependencies while fascism and Nazism functioned in the same way in the home country also. If freedom was to be established in the world, not only fascism and Nazism had to go, but imperialism had to be completely liquidated.

This reaction to foreign events was not confined to me. Many others in India began, to some extent, to feel that way, and even the public was interested. This public interest was kept up by thousands of meetings and demonstrations that the Congress organized all over the country in sympathy with the people of China, Abyssinia, Palestine, and Spain. Some attempts were also made by us to send aid, in the shape of medical supplies and food, to China and Spain. This wider interest in international affairs helped to raise our own national struggle to a higher level and to lessen somewhat the narrowness which is always a feature of nationalism.

Soon after my return from Europe at the end of 1938, two other activities claimed my attention. I presided over the All-India States' Peoples' Conference at Ludhiana and thus became even more intimately connected with the progressive movements in the semi-feudal Indian states. In large numbers of these states there had been a growing ferment, occasionally leading to clashes between the peoples' organizations and the authorities, which were often helped by British troops. It is difficult to write in restrained language about those states or about the part that the British government has played in maintaining these relics of the Middle Ages. A recent writer has rightly called them Britain's Fifth Column in India.

In the summer of 1939 I paid a brief visit to Ceylon, as friction had grown there between the Indian residents and the government. I was happy to be back again in that beautiful island, and my visit, I think, laid the foundations for closer relations between India and Ceylon. I had the most cordial welcome from everybody, including the Ceylonese members of the government. I have no doubt that in any future order Ceylon and India must hang together. My own picture of the future is a federation which includes China and India, Burma and Ceylon, Afghanistan, and possibly other countries. If a world federation comes, that will be welcome.

War and India. What were we to do? For years past we had thought about this and proclaimed our policy. Yet in spite of all this the British government declared India to be a belligerent country without any reference to our people, to the Central Assembly, or to the provincial governments. That was a slight that was hard to take, for it signified that imperialism functioned as before. The Congress Working Committee issued a long statement in the middle of September, 1939, in which our past and present policy was defined and the British government was invited to explain its war aims, more particularly in regard to British imperialism. We had frequently condemned fascism and Nazism, but we were more intimately concerned with the imperialism that dominated over us. Was this imperialism to go? Did they recognize the independence of India and her right to frame her own constitution through a Constituent Assembly? What immediate steps would be taken to introduce popular control of the central government? Later, in order to meet every possible objection of any minority group, the idea behind the Constituent Assembly was further amplified. It was stated that minority claims would be settled in this Assembly with the consent of the minority concerned, and not by a majority vote. If such agreement was not possible in regard to any issue, then this was to be referred to an impartial tribunal for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

final decision. This was an unsafe proposal from a democratic point of view, but the Congress was prepared to go to almost any length in order to allay the suspicions of minorities.

The British government's answer was clear. It left no doubt that they were not prepared to clarify their war aims or to hand over control of the government to the people's representatives. The old order continued and was to continue, and British interests in India could not be left unprotected. The Congress ministries in the provinces thereupon resigned, as they were not prepared to cooperate on these terms in the prosecution of the war. The constitution was suspended, and autocratic rule was reestablished. The old constitutional conflict of western countries between an elected parliament and the king's prerogative, which had cost the heads of two kings in England and France, took shape in India. But there was something much more than this constitutional aspect. The volcano was not in action, but it was there and rumblings were heard.

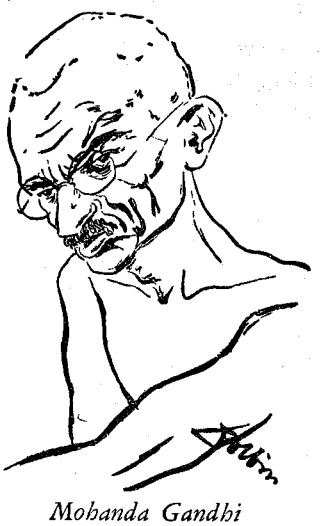
The impasse continued, and, meanwhile, new laws and ordinances descended upon us by decree, and Congressmen and others were arrested in ever-growing numbers. Resentment grew and a demand for action on our side. But the course of the war and the peril of England itself made us hesitate, for we could not wholly forget the old lesson which Gandhi had taught us, that our objective should not be to embarrass the opponent in his hour of need.

As the war progressed, new problems arose, or the old problems took new shape, and the old alignments seemed to change, the old standards to fade away. There were many shocks, and adjustment was difficult: the Russo-German Pact, the Soviet's invasion of Finland, the friendly approach of Russia toward Japan. Were there any principles, or any standards of conduct in this world, or was it all sheer opportunism?

April came and the Norwegian débâcle. May brought the horrors of Holland and Belgium, June the sudden collapse of France, and Paris, that proud and fair city, nursery of freedom, lay crushed and fallen. Not only military defeat came to France, but, what was infinitely worse, spiritual submission and degradation. How did all this come about, I wondered, unless there was something rotten at the core? Was it that England and France were the outstanding representatives of an old order that must pass, and therefore unable to hold out? Was it that imperialism, though apparently giving them strength, really weakened them in a struggle of this nature? They could not fight for freedom if they denied it themselves, and their imperialism would turn to unabashed fascism, as it had done in France. The shadow of Neville Chamberlain and his old policy still fell on England. The Burma-China route was being closed in order to appease Japan. And here in India there was no hint of change, and our self-imposed restraint was understood to mean an incapacity to do anything effective. The lack of any vision in the British government amazed me, its utter incapacity to read the signs of the times and to understand what was happening and adapt itself accordingly. Was this some law of nature that in international happenings, as in other fields, cause must inexorably be followed by effect; that a system that had ceased to have any useful function could not even defend itself intelligently?

If the British government was slow of understanding and could not learn even from experience, what can one say about the government of India? There is something comic and something tragic about the functioning of this government, for nothing seems to shake it out of its age-long complacency; neither logic nor reason, neither peril nor disaster. Like Rip Van Winkle, it sleeps, even though waking, on Simla hill.

The developments in the war situation posed new questions before the Congress Working Committee. Gandhi wanted the committee to extend the principle of non-violence, to which we had adhered in our struggle for freedom, to the functioning of a free state. A free India must rely on this principle to guard itself against external aggression or internal disorder. This question did not raise itself for us at the time, but it occupied Gandhi's mind, and he felt that the time had come for a clear enunciation. Every one of us was convinced that we must adhere to our policy of non-violence, as we had so far done in our own struggle. The war in Europe had strengthened this conviction. But to commit the future state was another and a more difficult matter, and it was not easy to see how anyone moving on the plane of politics could do it.



Mohanda Gandhi

Mr. Gandhi felt, and probably rightly, that he could not give up or tone down a message which he had for the world. He must have freedom to give it as he liked and must not be kept back by political exigencies. So, for the first time, he went one way and the Congress Working Committee another. There was no break with him, for the bond was too strong, and he will no doubt continue to advise in many ways and often to lead. Yet it is perhaps true that by his partial withdrawal a definite period in the history of our national movement has come to an end. In recent years I have found a certain hardness creeping into him, a lessening of the adaptability that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he possessed. Yet the old spell is there, the old charm works, and his personality and greatness tower over others. Let no one imagine that his influence over India's millions is any the less. He has been the architect of India's destiny for twenty years and more, and his work is not completed.

The Congress, at the instance of C. Rajagopalachari, made yet another offer to Britain. Rajagopalachari is said to belong to the right in the Congress. His brilliant intellect, selfless character, and penetrating powers of analysis have been a tremendous asset to our cause. He was the Prime Minister of Madras during the functioning of the Congress government there. Eager to avoid conflict, he put forward a proposal which was hesitatingly accepted by some of his colleagues. This proposal was the acknowledgment of India's independence by Britain and the immediate formation at the center of a Provisional National Government, which would be responsible to the present Central Assembly. If this were done, this government would take charge of defense and thus help in the war effort.

This Congress proposal was eminently feasible and could be effectuated immediately without upsetting anything. The National Government was inevitably going to be a composite affair with full representation of minority groups. The proposal was definitely a moderate one. From the point of view of defense and war effort, it is patent that any serious effort involves the confidence and cooperation of the people. Only a national government has the chance to get this. It is not possible through imperialism.

But imperialism thinks otherwise and imagines that it can continue to function and to coerce people to do its will. Even when danger threatens, it is not prepared to get this very substantial help if it involves giving up political and economic control over India. It does not care even for the tremendous moral prestige which would come to it if it did the right thing in India, and the rest of the Empire.

As I write this, the Viceroy has given us the British government's reply. It is in the old language of imperialism, and the content has changed in no way. The sands of time run out here in India, as in Europe and the world.

So many of my colleagues have gone back to prison, and I envy them somewhat. Perhaps it is easier to develop an organic sense of life in the solitude of confinement than in this mad world of war and politics, of fascism and imperialism.

But sometimes there is an escape for a while at least from this world. Last month I went back to Kashmir after an absence of twenty-three years. I was only there for twelve days, but these days were filled with beauty, and I drank in the loveliness of that land of enchantment. I wandered about the valley and the mountains, and climbed a glacier, and felt that life was worthwhile.

Passports to Nowhere

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

San José, Costa Rica, January 10

ON THE heels of every cataclysm comes the marauder. Whether it be an earthquake, a flood, a fire, or an exodus of refugees, the hyenas always hover near, eager to prey on the victims. By and large, the laws of nations are rightly severe on this particularly repulsive kind of evildoer, but it is usually the petty thieves that receive the roughest treatment, while the big shots get away with their plunder. Pilferers who loot a ruined town are shot, but men in consular positions who profit from the misery of hunted refugees go scot-free.

Thousands of anti-fascist refugees are at present stranded in the few countries of Europe yet uninvaded. Most of these have found only a temporary sanctuary, and being continuously harassed by the local authorities, they are ever on the lookout for a better place to go. These are the predestined victims of certain representatives of the smaller Central and South American republics who trade in unauthorized visas. Many an unwary refugee, setting all his hopes—and often enough spending all his money—on a visa granted him by the seemingly respectable consul of this or that Latin-American country, has been led on a tragic odyssey.

Practically all the countries of Latin America recently agreed upon a common policy toward refugees from Europe, a policy based in effect on these two rules: (a) Jews are to be denied admission on principle, in future; and (b) all applications for visas must be referred by consul to the immigration authority of his country. As a result of this agreement, the most important states of South America—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—have issued stern instructions to their consuls in Europe not to extend any visas not previously approved by the home authorities. And so far as I know, the representatives of these countries follow directions strictly. This cannot be said, however, of the consuls of a good many Central American states—like Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, Haiti, and Santo Domingo—who are not, as a rule, officials on the payrolls of their respective countries but merely local business men getting nothing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but their share of the visa fees from the country which they represent. When their former right to issue visas as they pleased was restricted or entirely abolished, the more unscrupulous of these "honorary" consuls simply continued on their own, selling visas which they knew to be unauthorized and therefore not valid.

In some cases such visas are issued under conditions which must betray to the most naive of customers the fraud in the transaction. For instance, when a Jewish couple whom I know bought visas for a thousand dollars each from the consul of Costa Rica at Berlin, he required them to sign a formal undertaking *not* to go to Costa Rica. They were willing, however, to buy those obviously phony visas for this reason: the prospective emigrant needs a visa, any visa, not so much for going to a particular country as in order to be able to get their transit visas.

Not all countries, of course, would grant a transit visa to the holder of a questionable visa of destination; American consuls in Europe, for example, would laugh at the suggestion. But the consuls of some other countries are not so fastidious. Most people traveling from Europe to America nowadays go east, not west. If they are bound for some place in Central America or the Caribbean, they have to provide themselves, as a rule, with transit visas for Russia, Japan, and Panama. It is not too hard, as yet, to get such transit visas upon the presentation of a seemingly valid visa to, say, Costa Rica or Haiti.

In the case of our Jewish couple the Costa Rican consul in Berlin knew that he had no right to grant the visa and he told the applicants so, more or less explicitly. However, he was not unwilling to help—at a price. And since the essential thing for them was to get out of Germany, no matter how, he offered to provide them with unauthorized, hence non-valid, visas to Costa Rica which would help them to get transit visas to Russia and Japan. Once they were started on that long journey, they believed, as others have done, that some chance would turn up for them to get off the boat somewhere. At the worst they would stay some time in Japan and run the risk of being deported from there to Shanghai. So the deal was concluded, the consul charged his 2,300 marks each for "fees and stamp-duties," and the pair started on their journey.

Theirs is by no means an isolated case, nor is the Costa Rican consul in Berlin alone in this business. Dozens of "honorary" consuls in Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw, Kaunas, Stockholm have been in this racket for a long time, some of them for years. The prices they charge vary enormously but are always exorbitant; the Haitian consul in Berlin, I have been told by several of his clients, used to charge wealthy Jews as much as 6,000 marks for a visa.

I myself had no reason to doubt the authenticity of my visa when I started, late in September, from Stockholm to Costa Rica on the strength of a nine-month visa from the consul general of that republic in Sweden. It happened like this. After the Nazi invasion of Denmark forced me to flee to Sweden without a visa, I was given the choice by the Swedish authorities of getting out of the country as best I could or staying in a concentration camp for the duration. I applied at once to half a dozen Latin American countries for a visa, but they all turned me down, or rather, promised to forward my application to their respective governments, a procedure which would take from four to six months. At long last I struck oil. One day in July a letter from Victor Andersson, consul general of the Republic of Costa Rica, arrived at the camp informing me that I had been granted a visa for that country. On the strength of that letter I was given a day's leave from the camp and went to see Mr. Andersson in Stockholm. I found him to be a hard-boiled, voluble business man, a real-estate dealer, who talked glibly of his sympathies for the victims of oppression and still more glibly figured out his fees. After some hard bargaining we settled for $35. The legal fee which a Costa Rican consul is entitled to charge, I learned afterward, is $3 per visa.

In addition to a beautifully sealed and stamped visa, Mr. Andersson handed me two letters written in not so beautiful Spanish—this singular consul of a Latin American republic, I found out later, didn't speak a word of Spanish; all his correspondence with his government was done by a translator. One was a "laissez-passer" addressed to the minister of police at San José, stating among other things that I was of "Aryan race"; the other was a letter "to whom it may concern," requesting all competent authorities in Costa Rica to lend me benevolent assistance. Both letters were also richly adorned with seals, and provided with my photograph and the consul's signature.

How could I know that it was all worthless trash—the visa, the "laissez-passer," and the "to whom it may concern"? Mr. Andersson had assured me in emphatic tones that I was lucky to be an Aryan, for if I had been a Jew he would not have been permitted to give me a visa, for all his sympathy, or for all the money in the world. (Later, I learned that Mr. Andersson did sell visas to Jews also, only at a much higher tariff.) I honestly believed what he told me, that Costa Rica was one of the last few countries in the world that had not closed its doors to political refugees.

On the strength of my Costa Rican visa I acquired transit visas for Russia, Japan, and Panama, and started out late in September, together with my wife. We sailed from Yokohama on the Japanese liner Ginyo Maru and arrived at Balboa, Canal Zone, on December 4. There, to our dismay, we learned that we could not land. When I presented my passport to the quarantine officer, he merely shoved it aside with a curt "no good." Every other passenger with a visa to Costa Rica received

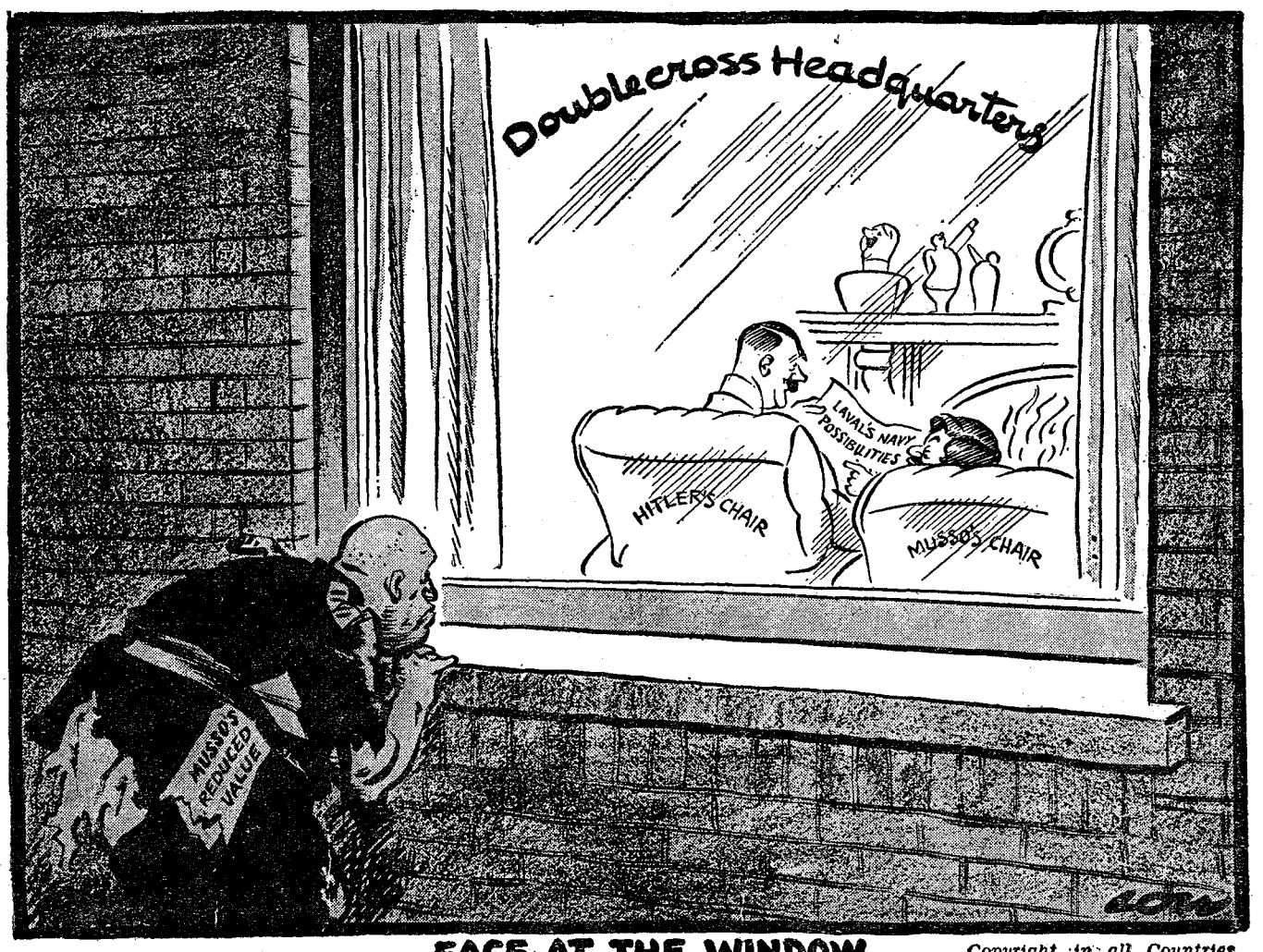
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the same treatment, as did scores of others who held visas for Santo Domingo, Haiti, Honduras, and a few other countries. Our visas, we were informed, were not valid, since they had not been explicitly confirmed by the respective governments, and under these conditions our transit visas for Panama would not be acknowledged either. The Canal Zone authorities had just received stringent instructions from Washington not to allow anybody ashore who could not satisfy them that he was strictly in transit. The United States, we were told, could not take any chances with refugees, whether genuine or not, in a territory so vital to its defense. The quarantine officer was sorry, but he could do nothing about it; all those who had unconfirmed visas—and there were at least thirty of them on the Ginyo Maru, which carried mostly refugees from Europe—would have to go on with the ship.

It is not really relevant that my wife and I eventually did get ashore. We owed this happy ending to the vigorous intervention of a local newspaper man, Editor Ted Scott of *Panama-America*, who happened to know me by name and offered his help. A forceful article which Mr. Scott published in his paper clinched the case. After two days of tantalizing suspense we were permitted to land. The Costa Rican government, yielding to urgent representations from its Minister in Panama, Dr. Fonseca Zuñiga, at last agreed to admit us into the country. It did not, however, honor the phony documents of Mr. Andersson in Stockholm; when we arrived, a few days later, in San José, it was on a new visa issued by the Costa Rican consul in Panama.

But that was our personal good luck. When the Ginyo Maru at long last left Balboa, nearly three days behind schedule, there were still some thirty hapless refugees on board, a majority of them Jews. The Panama authorities had, characteristically, declared themselves willing to admit them all if the proper sum could be "deposited" —$3,000 per family, which might be refunded if the family left Panama again within a year, in addition to $100, pure graft, per person. In the short period of time available it proved impossible to raise the money, and the scheme fell through.

Where are those thirty unwanted passengers on the Ginyo Maru going now? No one can tell. The ship will have to take them along to Peru and Chile, with not the slightest chance of their being allowed to land there, then back to Japan. Perhaps they will finally arrive "home" again, after five months' useless traveling.



FACE AT THE WINDOW

Copyright in all Countries.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Gerrymandered States

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Salem, Oregon, January 24

AT ANY moment now the legislatures of the states which showed substantial population increases in the 1940 census can be expected to petition Congress for additional membership in the national House of Representatives. With equal assurance, these same legislatures can be expected to disregard the census figures when the question arises of adjusting their own membership to population shifts and changes.

The final results of the 1940 census, announced recently by the Department of Commerce, put up squarely to almost every state an issue long avoided—the issue of legislative reapportionment. Most of the country's legislatures are as off balance as a waltzing dinosaur. Rural districts are greatly over-represented and the cities, conversely, are shockingly under-represented. In many instances, the situation practically adds up to a statewide system of rotten boroughs.

This is not a new problem. Yet it has aspects never so conspicuous as now. President Roosevelt's reelection was mainly brought about by the vote of the larger industrial centers. In general, he carried the big cities and ran close or slightly behind in innumerable rural precincts. Thus the present gerrymandering of state districts amounts to supporters of the New Deal being denied equal voice with its opponents in choosing the personnel of legislatures. With state collaboration necessary in pension benefits, power and reclamation undertakings, and now in certain national defense plans, this may lead to a thwarting of the will of the majority.

Consider the dilemma in Oregon, one of the most progressive states and the first to adopt the initiative and referendum. Portland is the only city of any size. With its environs, it has a third of Oregon's population yet only 22 per cent of the membership in the legislature. Each representative from Portland has more than 25,000 constituents. Contrast this with some of the backwoods districts where constituencies number less than 7,000. Vernon Bull, railroad worker who represents the Union Pacific division point of La Grande, speaks for 18,000 people. Anti-labor legislators from nearby ranch areas have a third that many constituents.

Such a situation was not the intent of the adventurous souls who crossed the Continental Divide and in 1857 drafted the first state charter in the Pacific Northwest. Oregon's constitution provides that the legislature shall be apportioned according to population and that reapportionment shall take place at every census. The constitution has not been followed. In 1907 the last reapportionment of the Oregon legislature took place. Since then the population of the state, stimulated by constant migration westward, has nearly doubled and the census has been enumerated four times. Singularly enough, all attempts at reapportionment have been blocked by the loudest and noisiest constitution-lovers.

Oregon is merely an example of a national situation. Rural districts cling to representation in state legislatures out of all proportion to the number of their inhabitants. Because legislatures are masters of their own apportionment, the condition cannot be corrected unless rural legislators are willing to vote away the unequal power they now enjoy. This is not the way of mankind. Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain of Columbia University pointed out recently: "In states where both major parties are strong, the Democrats usually have greater strength in the cities, while the rural districts return Republicans. Therefore, the chiefs of the latter party will naturally oppose any change which would lessen their political power."

St. Louis has 29 per cent of Missouri's population, yet only 14 per cent of the membership of the state house of representatives. Wilmington with 63 per cent of the population of Delaware has 28.6 per cent of the house of representatives. Baltimore has 58 per cent of Maryland's people but elects only 38 per cent of the lower house of the legislature. These anomalies are repeated in many states. Legislators from Los Angeles and San Francisco, for example, must represent 70,000 people apiece while each lawmaker from a California rural district has an average of 36,000 constituents.

A few states have constitutions which arbitrarily limit the size of legislative delegations from large cities. But in many states the legislatures are defying constitutional requirements to allocate representation on the basis of population. Legal suits even have been instituted asking that the courts restrain the collection of taxes until legislative membership was made to conform with the census figures. Judges, although remarkably scrupulous about other constitutional provisions, have held that legislative apportionment is a political rather than a judicial question and they have refused to interfere.

In the final analysis, public opinion is the only lever which can force legislatures to restore representative government in their states. A few years ago the people of Seattle got tired of a situation which virtually restricted their suffrage. The Washington state constitution declares that both senate and house shall be apportioned according to population, but for thirty years—three

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

decades in which Seattle expanded mightily—reapportionment had been unfinished business on the legislative calendar. One Seattle district, with 166,000 inhabitants, had equal representation with Skamania and Wahkiakum Counties, with 6,000 inhabitants between them.

Seattle voters took matters into their own hands. They drafted an initiative petition reapportioning the legislature. In their opinion, something had happened to democracy when a fourth of the state's population could elect a majority of the law-makers. Fifty thousand signatures were obtained to the petition and the proposal went on the ballot. After a bitter campaign it was adopted at the polls by a narrow margin. As a result, the Washington legislature today dovetails with the population. Seattle with 29 per cent of the people of the state has 26 per cent of the senators, 24 per cent of the representatives.

Nor may it be an accident that Washington is one of the most forward-looking states, with advanced legislation in labor, education and hydroelectric power and with a liberal State Planning Council which is generously provided for by the legislature. The anachronistic legislative apportionments in many states are a bar to progress. Throughout the Far West, counties where rich, irrigated land has attracted thousands of Dust Bowl migrants possess no more legislative voice than counties which have remained gaunt and desolate and dominated by a handful of cattle ranchers. Yet the people in one county are interested in social changes and additional school facilities, while those in the other want primarily to preserve the status quo and keep down taxes.

In our American rotten boroughs men and women in the cities and in newly settled agricultural areas are denied equal legislative representation with the older rural regions. Sometimes this unfair advantage attains a ratio of three or four to one. In such cases, representative government ceases to exist. The fresh presence of the 1940 census figures offers a new chance to remedy a situation which the authors of most of our state constitutions never dreamed would come about.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Exploiting the Conquered

ON SEPTEMBER 14 last I described in this column some of the methods of plunder which the Nazis were employing in the occupied countries. They included such dodges as fixing exchange rates so as to give additional purchasing power to the mark and the forcing of exports paid for by Reichsbank credits which could only be drawn upon to a limited extent.

In the past four months the economic experts who follow behind the German army have been busy perfecting these and other methods by which the victims of *Blitzkrieg* are being bled white. But in the same period the channels of communication with the conquered countries have been improved, and, despite efforts by the Nazis to conceal the evidence of their depredations, a good many new facts have come to light.

I am now able, for instance, to present statistics of German-Dutch trade for the three months, June to September, 1940, and the corresponding period of 1939. The contrast is most revealing:

	1939	1940
	Millions of Guilders	
Imports from Germany	120	84
Exports to Germany	46	127

Holland, it will be seen, has changed a large passive balance with Germany into a large active balance and mercantilely-minded persons, who believe that in international trade it is always more blessed to give than to receive, may jump to the conclusion that the Dutch have benefitted from conquest. The fact is, however, that in return for its excess of exports Holland does not obtain the means of purchasing the goods it needs for its own consumption. All it gets is a Nazi I. O. U., an entry to its credit in the books of the Reichsbank which can only be used for the acquisition of such German goods as the authorities chose to release for sale abroad.

All the conquered countries find that their blocked balances with Germany are piling up continuously, for the Nazis have a great hunger for goods while the demands of their war machine, the lack of raw materials, and the shortage of transport make them unwilling to send out of the country more than the absolute minimum necessary. Thus, although there is an abundance of coal in Germany, the Danes and the Norwegians cannot get enough to keep warm despite their wealth in marks. And for the entirely inadequate supplies they do get, they have to pay heavily, for the German authorities have fixed the price at least 20 per cent higher than the rate charged Sweden, which still has some power to bargain.

Germany is also drawing large sums from the conquered territories by charging them occupation costs. In the case of France the amount of the bill has been officially published—no less than 400 million francs per day. With regard to other countries, which are officially enjoying "protection," there has been more reticence, but it is understood that Norway's payment has been fixed at the total appropriation for its own military and naval establishments this year—an appropriation sharply above normal owing to last-minute efforts to build up defenses. The amount per day, on this basis, would be approximately one million kroner, or $250,000, a very heavy burden for a country of less than three million people. Estimates for the levies on other countries, which have been published in London, are on the same scale and altogether, according to the same source, Germany is collecting from its victims something like 15 per cent of its total war expenditure.

Abundantly supplied with cash in these ways the German armies of occupation have rapidly made inroads into stocks of consumers' goods in the conquered countries—stocks

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which cannot be replaced. They are also in a position to obtain first pick of the fresh foodstuffs which come on the market. The provisioning of the German army in Norway is believed to be carried out almost entirely from local resources, and since it comprises at least 300,000 young men with healthy appetites it is easy to explain the shortage of food in that country.

In Paris, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and all other cities under the swastika the stores are rapidly becoming bare of necessities and luxuries alike. Now with money to burn the Nazis are employing their looted funds to buy up industrial concerns in the occupied lands. Two weeks ago an article in *The Nation,* written by an American in Paris, described the way in which French enterprises are disappearing into the German maw. A recent issue of the London *Economist* gives particulars of a working arrangement between the German steel firm of Otto Wolff and one of the largest Belgian producers in the industry. A full merger is expected to follow the present agreement which covers production and exports.

Nor are activities of this sort confined to the conquered countries. Diplomatic and economic pressures are being employed to obtain control of key industries in states which have been brought within the German orbit. The German firm of Wintershall has acquired all rights of digging new oil wells in Hungary, together with the control of Standard Oil of Hungary, a company hitherto partly financed by American capital. Another German dominated concern has recently been organized to exploit oil and minerals in Yugoslavia.

Thus, in the midst of war, the Nazis frantically organize their economic empire. Their undisguised aim is to obtain a firm hold over the raw materials and vital industries of Europe. So far as possible they intend to concentrate manufacturing activity within Germany itself, for they know that military might in these days rests on an industrial foundation. If they can force France to revert to an agricultural state they know they can prevent its revival as a great power. In the same way they hope to organize the small states which they dominate into providers of cheap foods and raw materials for their own economy.

Pursuing this program they tend to favor the agrarian as against the urban interests in the conquered countries. This policy has the additional advantage of promoting schisms between the two groups and thus weakening resistance to the invader. In Norway the puppet Quisling is proposing a reduction of mortgage interest and taxation for farmers while simultaneously insisting that wages and salaries must be cut in spite of sharp rises in the cost of living. German purchasing methods help to promote the same ends. Danish farmers are paid good prices for their slaughtered livestock and are thus assisted to clear their debts. Were they Balkan peasants this might impress them with the benevolence of Nazism. But since they are, for the most part, economically sophisticated, thanks to the Danish educational system, they are well aware that money in the bank is little good if it cannot be used to replenish the herds or provide fodder for the remaining animals. And in Western Europe generally people are not being deceived by the Nazi's refined methods of burglary. They recognize the New Order for what it is and know that whichever way you slice it is still baloney.

In the Wind

AMONG POST-ELECTION developments list the sharp and bitter break between Roy Howard and Russell Davenport, the *Fortune* managing editor who joined Willkie's brain trust. Howard and Davenport clashed over the publisher's appeasement stand.

A MINOR MYSTERY among New York newspapermen is the present whereabouts of Clarence Hathaway, purged Communist editor. Reporters have been scouring the city in an attempt to interview him but so far without success.

HERE'S A HOLLYWOOD tale via *Variety*. Herman Mankiewicz, script writer, protested to the Screen Writers' Guild, demanding screen credit for his work on "Citizen Kane." When Hearst interests started a row over the film, which parallels the publisher's life, Mankiewicz withdrew his protest. Now the studio has decided to give him full credit.

JURISDICTIONAL BATTLES between the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. on defense construction projects have gotten some publicity, but the fight has just begun. Rival picketing is starting in key areas and labor leaders fear that this kind of battle—which makes no sense to the public—may lead to real anti-labor curbs. And nobody knows what to do about it.

SHORT-WAVE listeners report that Ezra Pound's broadcasts from Italy are becoming more frequent. He advocates that America stay out of the war and solve its economic woes with Social Credit.

WAR NEWS: St. Claire McKelway's biography of Walter Winchell—"Gossip, the Life and Times of Walter Winchell"—will be published shortly in England.

WHEN TWO New Haven dailies were struck recently, Yale students put on a show of anti-social consciousness. The editors of the college daily started to transform their paper into a city-wide daily to replace the commercial papers.

REPORTS THAT Phil Murray has been urging a vigorous pro-British stand by the C. I. O. are true. At the last executive board meeting he pressed hard for the position—and the left-wing spokesmen at the session moved very cautiously. Insiders say there was no clear-cut opposition but some sentiment for "moderate" action.

UNCENSORED, the isolationist news-letter, reports this puzzle. In its story of the meeting in Glasgow at which Winston Churchill and Harry Hopkins appeared on the same platform, the city edition of the New York *Times* carried the following sentences: "Whether the former United States Secretary of Commerce acknowledged the introduction [by Mr. Churchill] or said anything in response must be left to the reader's intuition. If he had, the defense regulations would prohibit the citation of his words and phrases." These sentences disappeared from later editions.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

The Naval Censor

ALONG with every other newspaper editor from Beeswax to Boston, I got a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, who, as the saying goes, used to be a newspaperman himself. The envelope was marked "personal" though I never had the pleasure of meeting the Secretary. The letter inside was marked "confidential" in capital letters and underlined. I can keep a secret, even one I did not ask to receive and one that is shared with several thousand other people. But I am saying that I feel very strongly that any regulation of the press in America in the emergency ought not to be a personal and confidential matter between an official and the editors. If I understand the freedom of the press, it does not belong to either the editors or the officials but to the people. And if there are going to be any modifications of it, at the very least the country ought to know about it.

An encouraging proportion of the newspapermen understand that. I attended a meeting of a good-sized group of us country editors not long ago. None of them would print any news which he thought would serve any enemy and hurt the nation. But all of them were anxious to give to the entire defense effort the honest and adequate reporting of legitimate news to which they think their readers are entitled. And they had a feeling that they were not everywhere being permitted to do it.

"My actual experience with the War and Navy Departments," said one of them who is not a trained seal or a syndicated columnist but a man who works his legs as well as his head, "has been mixed. Generally, I find that if I can get to the head man, I get courteous treatment. The man who has been through the mill does not have such an inflated sense of his own importance. He is also more conscious of the fact that promotion of good-will is important to the army's growth. Men like Deputy Chief of Staff General Richard Moore will listen to your questions, tell you what they can tell you on the record, add some information off the record, and oftentime frankly reply that it is impossible to answer such a question. With the pressure of work, however, the real difficulty is getting to see these big boys.

"Rather than deliberate suppression of the news," he said, "I find confusion more often the trouble. Yesterday a friend of mine had a simple question about plans for establishing a Negro army corps. He was referred to thirteen people before he was able to get a definite answer. Another man—a methodical and determined guy—recently called on fifty-two people in defense agencies before he was given a definite answer on a relatively simple fact. This shows that there are a lot of people who just don't know what is going on, and another bunch who are adept at buck-passing.

"In fairness, two things must be said. Some of the men are genuinely afraid of the rather sweeping application now being made of the espionage act. They don't know just how far they can go in giving information before they open themselves to possible violation of the act. Some of them just don't know what is and what is not 'legitimate' information. Also many inquiries get little consideration simply because of the pressure of work."

Of one thing he was certain: "There is hardly a correspondent here who does not complain about the difficulty of getting news, but I have heard few complain of the manner in which they are treated. There are, of course, exceptions to this statement. In normal times a press section is often a help in getting the news you are after. Now this office is apt to be a bottleneck, so we steer clear of it as much as we can. There is a small group in the War Department who will invariably reply that they can give out no information except through the press section. This usually means you get no information."

The sum of what he said and what I have heard from local newspapermen up and down the country seems to be not suppression so much as confusion. There is an increasing feeling among newspapermen like that I heard one conservative, mature publisher express recently.

"Ninety-five per cent of the military secrets," he said, "are to cover up military mistakes."

That may not be so. But both the army and the people would be safer from the consequences of military mistakes if there were a clearer understanding all down the line in Washington about just what constitutes legitimate information and a more efficient system of getting it through the press to the people. Secretary Knox, as a former newspaperman, might serve defense and security better if he spoke publicly and not personally, publicly and not confidentially, about this matter, so that subordinates would know what they can give and the people could know what they could expect.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

A NOTE ON ORDER

BY W. H. AUDEN

"*LA TYRANNIE est de vouloir avoir par une voie ce qu-on ne peut avoir que par une autre.*"—Pascal.

1. As Mr. H. G. Wells remarked recently in *The Nation,* this war is not a war of ideologies: the totalitarian "New Order" is "just theoretical eye-wash for a purely individualistic control." Fascism is what happens to an industrial society when disorder is accepted as inevitable but has reached a point where it is felt as intolerable. It provides a positive satisfaction to the ambition of the few, and a negative satisfaction to the inertia of the many. Hitler is our immediate enemy because it is in his positive interest to increase the social disorder upon which his power depends, but, even if he is defeated, unless we overcome our own inertia against understanding and removing this disorder, he will only be succeeded by others.

2. A society in disorder is one which is only partially influential in imposing its characteristics in the form of prevalent laws. The laws of a society are those relations between the entities of which it is composed that are unconditionally required. A primitive or low-grade social order displays a massive and uniform vagueness which masks contrast and in which requiredness consists of immediate responses to unrelated objective stimuli—for example, conditioned reflexes. An advanced or high-grade social order displays a differentiation in which diversity is consciously felt as contrast, and requiredness as a constellation of subjective general notions. A degenerate social order displays a trivial multiplicity in which contrast is dismissed into incompatibility and requiredness disappears.[1]

3. Civilization (high-grade social order), as we know it, makes two presuppositions: (a) that throughout this universe there is one set of laws according to which all movements and events in spite of all differences agree in happening; (b) that, nevertheless, there are in this universe many different realms or societies, each composed of a class of things peculiar to itself to which events of a peculiar kind happen (one important peculiarity is position in time), and that the peculiar laws of these several realms are modifications of the universal law mentioned in (a).[2]

4. Corresponding to these there are two heresies by which civilization has been constantly threatened, heresies respectively defined in the Athanasian Creed as "dividing the substance" and "confounding the persons." (a) Dualism. The denial of any relation between the universal and the particular, that is, that the particular laws are modifications of the general law. Examples: Stoicism, Manicheeism, the sentimentality of business men. Social result: an other-worldliness which regards all attempts to establish social order as vain, or a secularism which regards progress as inevitable. (b) Monism, that is, the assumption that the peculiar laws of one of the peculiar realms are the universal laws from which all the others are derivative. Examples: the dominance in the Middle Ages of the laws of Aristotelian logic, the Marxist theory of history, the Freudian psychology. Social results: tyranny or violent revolution.

5. During the last four hundred years a third heresy, really a modification of (a), has appeared, an empiricism which denies the necessity of any metaphysics. Bacon's description of science as putting nature to the torture is a good one. Science is a *method* of questioning which presupposes that the questioner has a particular question he wishes to ask of a particular subject. An essential feature of the method is a deliberate isolation of the experimental field from the rest of nature. The practical success of this technical device has led society to believe that this isolation is a characteristic of nature itself, and, while admitting in theory that the peculiar laws are modifications of the universal law, to deny it in practice by ignoring that this implies relations between the peculiar realms themselves.

The social aspect of this has been the atomic view of society as a multiplicity of unrelated special individuals pursuing special unrelated occupations, typical of liberal capitalist democracy. (In education it appears as a doctrine of "self-expression"; in literature as the formless "naturalistic" novel.)

A curious corollary of this view is that it really identifies the universal with the political, a conclusion implicit in Locke's theory of government as the ringmaster of competing interests. As long as this competition remained comparatively mild, that is, as long as politics did not have to be taken seriously, this corollary was not apparent.

The conditions that made liberal democracy possible were two: first, an expanding economy, a progress from

[1] A. N. Whitehead: "Process and Reality."
[2] R. G. Collingwood: "Metaphysics."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an economy of scarcity toward an economy of abundance; and, second, a margin of scarcity, however narrow. A static economy of scarcity prohibits free social movement; an economy of abundance prohibits a free market. Men can bear being exploited better than they can bear being unwanted; the injustice of oppression is perhaps just bearable, the injustice of unemployment is certainly not.[8]

On the liberal assumption that the politician has the unique occupation of keeping order between all the other unique and non-political occupations, the moment serious disorder occurs he is obliged to become the dictator. The politician is, after all, the true empiricist. Fascism is theoretically perfectly consistent with Locke.

6. Modern society is a differentiated society in disorder, the result of our ignoring the relations between its different elements. As long as we continue to do so, disorder will seem due to the social differentiation itself instead of to our false conception of it. The only remedy, therefore, will seem the fascist remedy, that is, a return to primitive uniformity and multiple objective requiredness—a theirs-not-to-reason-why obedience to unrelated military orders. But this is simply to substitute for the disorder of triviality the disorder of vagueness, and since our technological and economic development obliges us to remain differentiated, this is a vain attempt that produces a worse disorder than ever. We must not, however, give the fascists the credit of being the first to attempt this return to vagueness; the advertising firms, film directors, Sunday reviewers have been at it for years.

7. The restoration of a civilized social order, which now means a world order, calls, among a multitude of other things, for the following:

(a) A recognition in every field of intellectual and social activity of the importance of metaphysics. The cohesion of an undifferentiated and segregated society is secured by tradition, that is, a multiplicity of commands in which the right thing to do is inseparable from the right way of doing it—an identity found today only in compulsion neuroses. The cohesion of a differentiated and open society can only be secured through a common agreement upon a small number of carefully defined general presuppositions, from which each individual can deduce the right behavior in a particular instance. These presuppositions must be consupponible with each other. Aesthetics, ethics, economics, science, though each a peculiar field, are not unrelated, and unless this relation is recognized, errors appear in their own peculiar results.

(b) A recognition, on the other hand, that these presuppositions are not knowledge, that a clear distinction must be drawn between presuppositions and propositions which are experimentally verifiable, between matters of faith and matters of belief, and the fullest acceptance of the principle of doubt.

I believe X = I believe the proposition X to be true.

I have faith in X = The existence of X is, for me, an absolute presupposition.

I doubt X = I admit the possibility that at some future unspecified date, for reasons also unspecified, I may come *either* to believe the proposition X to be false *or* to find that, for me, the presupposition that X exists is no longer absolute but relative.

(c) A recognition that, as a society changes, its constellation of presuppositions, that is, its orthodoxy, changes too, but that the effect of social change *per se* is only destructive. History can be counted upon to expose propositions which are false, or supposedly absolute presuppositions as only relative, but it does not automatically create new presuppositions. Every orthodoxy, in fact, is, in an absolute sense, heretical. It can only represent the greatest degree of intellectual freedom from its own temporal limitations possible to any given society at any given time.

(d) A recognition of scientific method as the only way of asking questions to obtain valid knowledge.

In the *New Republic* for October 28, Professor Sidney Hook took Professor Mortimer Adler to task for dismissing science as a series of opinions about reality and therefore unimportant. If Professor Adler really said this, Professor Hook was perfectly justified in his attack. But the latter is naive when he asserts that "more universal agreement exists about scientific ideas than metaphysical axioms have ever given," and draws from this the moral that the scientific method must be extended to "the questions and problems in social life about which there is disagreement." That disagreement exists precisely because there is a lack of metaphysical agreement.

8. The words "orthodoxy" and "heresy" at once raise the problem of freedom. In a primitive society orthodoxy is secured by tradition, that is, assent is automatically and universally conditioned, and the problem of freedom has not yet arisen. In a semi-civilized society, that is, one which is changing but thinks of itself as static, the majority are still orthodox by tradition; the recalcitrant minority are coerced by some form or other of Holy Office.

In a degenerate society, that is, one with no standards, orthodoxy becomes an arbitrary succession of fashionable fads, frequently manipulated for profit by individuals (for example, the faith of the average American in doctors). In a civilized society, that is, one in which a common faith is combined with a skepticism about its finality, and which agrees with Pascal that *"Nier, croire, et douter bien sont à l'homme ce que le courir est au cheval,"* orthodoxy can only be secured by a cooperation of which free controversy is an essential part.

For what at the time appears to be a heresy never arises without a cause. Either it is a real advance on the old orthodoxy (for example, the Copernican cosmogony

[8] Nazi Economics. Charles Noyes, *The Nation*, September 14, 1940.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was an advance on the Ptolomaic) or it is an unsatisfactory reaction to a real abuse (for example, Manicheeism was an intellectual heresy caused by the moral corruption of the relatively orthodox church). Persecution is futile in either case: in the first because the persecutor is wrong, and in the second because he is only suppressing a symptom while leaving the cause of disease untouched.

Elegy for James Joyce

BY IVAN GOLL

L'Aveugle aux grands yeux semeurs de phosphore
Nous a guidés par le camp des dormeurs
Lui qui fut phare sur la plage incolore
En riant annonça les siècles de malheur

Il m'a conduit en me prenant l'épaule
Dompteur de l'inconnu gardien de l'amitié
Je l'ai conduit en lui prenant l'épaule
Mais c'est lui qui trouva la Rue de la Pitié

Nous nous sommes assis près du fleuve de pierre
Cueillant la fleur du mal au pré des Capucines
Nous avons écouté le chant des lavandières
Et le bavardement des Proserpines

Il était comme un arbre plein d'adolescence
Voyant avec ses feuilles quand on ment
Roseau qui las d'avoir trop pensé danse
Et deviendra la Tour de notre temps

Soudain avec son rire il fracassait des villes
Il déchirait la nuit avec son rire de hibou
Avec son rire d'aulne il séduisait les filles
Il arrêtait le meurtre avec son rire roux

Avec ce rire il charmait les rivières
Et les trompait en confondant leurs lits
Il leur montrait des chemins de chimère
Qui conduisaient vers l'océan Oubli

Choréographe des quatre danses du vent
Grammairien des douze langues de la médisance
Horloger des vingt-quatre heures du drame
Fumeur des cent pipes du rêve

Mécano des moteurs de la fécondité
Tisserand des tapis volants de la fuite
Ramoneur des vieilles cheminées du vice
Chasseur de la bête de l'Apocalypse

Il montait tous les soirs à une balustrade
Où l'attendait la folle aux cheveux de mélisse
D'une racine d'Eire il tirait la ballade
Pour mourir avec elle de sa propre musique

The Way of the Vanguard

NEW DIRECTIONS IN PROSE AND POETRY, 1940. Edited by James Laughlin. New Directions. $3.50.

THIS LATEST edition of Mr. James Laughlin's annual anthology seems to me by far the best of the five volumes that have appeared to date. It not only includes more varied material but also reflects a more rigorous principle of selection than was evident in preceding issues. In his preface the editor ingenuously confesses to the discovery that mere self-expression is not enough—that formal discipline is necessary. He has obviously consulted the conscience of craft, for this time he has refrained from giving professional exploiters of avant-gardist attitudes the free play they previously enjoyed under his auspices. The level and interest of this collection suggest, furthermore, that experimental and "new" writing is at long last recovering from the ten years' slump caused by the intervention in literature of political dogmatists and Comintern-appointed representatives of "progress." The energy of literary people is now flowing back into its proper channels; and, if only one could assume that the present war will not end in the wrecking of all cultural endeavor, one might reasonably look forward to a revival of imaginative curiosity and to the further extension of creative norms. Of course, it is neither possible nor desirable to recapture the spirit of the 1920's. What is to be aimed at is the critical renewal, rather than the resumption along nostalgic and purely reiterative lines, of the modern tradition in letters—a renewal based on an assimilation of both the positive and the negative lessons that the past decade has taught us.

Several of the contributors to this volume are evidently trying to formulate some such new attitude. Thus, in his two stories and short verse-play, Mr. Paul Goodman shows himself capable of putting to good use all kinds of knowledge—aesthetic, philosophical, and political. He is a young writer of keen and agile intelligence, in possession of qualities that one usually misses in the typical American story-teller, who in most cases is a "natural," a naif who supports his literary personality by regaling the big-city public with horrendous tales of his home-town. Not that we can take in Mr. Goodman the measure of the younger generation, about which very little can be said because as yet its features remain undefined. Moreover, most of its members are, unfortunately, still cowering in the shadow of their elders. Mr. Goodman, on the other hand, is resourceful enough to arrange his intellectual environment to suit himself. In his story, A Ceremonial, he handles a very risky theme—the life of man "after the establishment among us of reasonable institutions." The result is neither a Wellsian fantasy nor a propaganda-poster of musclebound happiness such as tourists used to bring back from Soviet Russia. His projection is idyllic, to be sure, yet sufficiently concrete and psychologically intimate to reveal the outlines of a possible reality. His second story, A Cross-Country Runner at Sixty-Five, is, to my mind, less successful, an idea-piece linked to no credible experience. Eudora Welty's Keela the Outcast Indian Maiden seems the most vivid and technically formed of the other items of fiction. David Kerner, a newcomer from Philadelphia, writes about immigrant Jews in a style which is something of an innova-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VAN WYCK BROOKS'S new book "Allston and His Journals" will be serialized in part in THE NEW REPUBLIC

"My friend Oliver Allston, who died last year in his early fifties, was a literary man of some distinction. A few of my readers, at least, will remember his name. He had published half a dozen books, collections of critical essays, which had a certain point of view in common, and I am not alone among his friends in feeling that, if he had lived a little longer, he might have made some impression on the mind of his time."

From 1916, with the publication of "America's Coming of Age," to the present, the years of the magnificent and widely read "Flowering of New England" and "New England: Indian Summer," Van Wyck Brooks has exercised an influence on the minds of his countrymen second to that of few living American writers.

These readers will not fail to be struck by the similarity between Van Wyck Brooks's opinions and those of "Oliver Allston."

Allston's journals tell of a "predestined writer," his problems, his methods of work, his friends, his penetrating observations on his country, its character and its people.

It is no accident that such a writer as Van Wyck Brooks should wish his work to go first to New Republic people. Plans under way guarantee that 1941 will be the year in which The New Republic most completely fulfills its mission as a challenging, critical journal. *COUPON BELOW!*

13 WEEKS' TRIAL OFFER $1

THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street, New York, N. Y.

For the enclosed $1 (check or money order if possible) please send me The New Republic for the next thirteen weeks.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

2-1-41

tion, and which recommends itself by its tonal and dramatic adjustment to its subject matter, but I wish I could disentangle the story Mr. Kerner tells from his style.

The critical section also contains a number of very good things. Miss Katherine Anne Porter's "Notes on Writing" are so just and penetrating that they bring to mind the superb discussions of craft-problems that Chekhov entered into his diary. But the most formidable critical contribution is offered by Mr. George Orwell, an English critic. In his long essay, "Inside the Whale," he takes the work of Henry Miller for his point of departure and then proceeds to evaluate in a lucid and forceful fashion the last decade of English literary history, with special reference to the political relations into which literature was drawn during that period. Mr. Orwell understands the social psychology of the writers he analyses, also the doctrinal meanings of Marxism, also the role of those groups that use Marxism to hide their shame. And I might add that he is the first critic I have read on Henry Miller who makes sense.

Among the chief features of "New Directions" this year is a documentary compilation of surrealist texts, edited by Nicolas Calas, an orthodox surrealist who apparently has the ear of his *chef d'école,* M. André Breton. Mr. Calas's summary of the surrealist creed is enlivened by defiant gestures and militant epigrams. The three principles of surrealism, he states, are Objective Hazard, Estrangement of Sensation, and Black Bile "served hot or cold at all times of the day." The main impression the texts give is that surrealist theory is somewhat at odds with surrealist practice. Instead of exploring the Unconscious, the writers of this school seem more intent on "imitating" and idealizing it in the same sense that the Romantic poets imitated and idealized Nature, which was discovered and appropriated in the eighteenth century in much the same way as the Unconscious was discovered and appropriated in the twentieth. Freud, of course, was a scientist, whereas Rousseau was an ideologist; but art has taken from both what it could and wanted to take.

I should mention that the surrealist section is rounded out by two essays, one by Herbert J. Muller and one by Kenneth Burke, which attempt to estimate the value and meaning of this movement. Mr. Burke is his usual brilliant notion-spinning self, while Mr. Muller carefully formulates most of the standard objections.

PHILIP RAHV

Literary Autobiography

LIFE FOR LIFE'S SAKE. By Richard Aldington. The Viking Press. $3.

MR. ALDINGTON was born in 1892. This means that in 1914 he was twenty-two. And when he was just short of twenty and quite old enough to go traveling by himself to Paris in search of adventure and the literary life it was the year 1912, and the month was May.

It is more than likely that all persons who had a taste for poetry and who knew Paris in May of 1912 were especially blessed by the gods. Good food and wine were cheap, the lilacs were in bloom, life was gentle, charming, and civilized, and in any café friends could sit all day and all night

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and talk largely about philosophy, music, books, love, and every other subject under the sun. For a young poet it was the Golden Age, and one need not wonder that Mr. Aldington has never ceased to mourn its passing. It was then that he began to live. In this account of his life, more literary than personal, he describes briefly and with a pleasant humor his childhood in London or on the Dover coast, his schooling at the proper sort of school, his brief experience with the university. When the family fortune failed, he was perfectly willing to quit college and get himself a job. To the astonished chagrin of his elders, it was a job as a writer and he did not starve at it. He made friends among other writers and his memorable Paris holiday was with Ezra Pound and H. D. As was natural in that age of innocence, having seen Paris, one saw Italy, with the Roman gentry riding out every afternoon in their carriages and white violets blooming in Anacapri.

At that point the clock struck 1914. For Mr. Aldington as for everybody on the wrong side of forty, life has never been the same, and probably it never will be. Nevertheless he lived through it. Through three years of soldiering which he hated. Through the bibulous twenties, during which he retired to a cottage in the country and worked. And through many more years of writing poems and essays, reviewing and translating French books, and finally writing novels. During these same years he cemented the literary friendships which are the most interesting part of his book. First the imagists—Pound, Amy Lowell, Harold Munro, John Gould Fletcher, John Cournos; Yeats, also D. H. Lawrence and Frieda; later T. S. Eliot, Orage, Ford Madox Ford, and many others. Mr. Aldington's portraits of Pound, Eliot, and Lawrence are noteworthy. Comparing Pound and Eliot, he says:

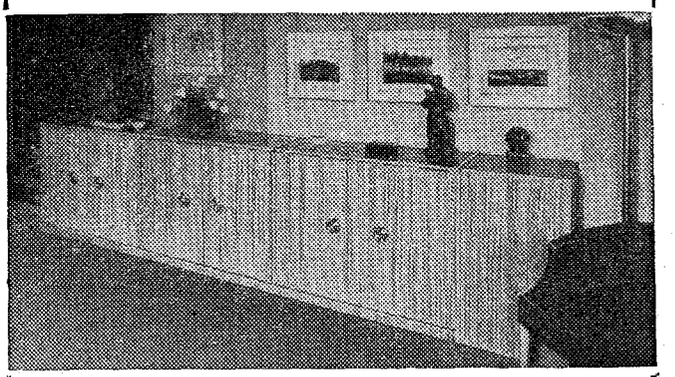
> Tom Eliot's career in England has been exactly the reverse of Ezra's. Ezra started out in a time of peace and prosperity with everything in his favor, and muffed his chances of becoming literary dictator of London—to which he undoubtedly aspired—by his own conceit, folly, and bad manners. Eliot started in the enormous confusion of war and post-war England, handicapped in every way. Yet by merit, tact, prudence, and pertinacity he suceeded in doing what no other American has done—imposing his personality, taste, and even many of his opinions on literary England.

But work and friends and literary success were not enough. Mr. Aldington wanted to be a "good European," and the good life in Europe was shutting up shop and retiring in favor of brainless tyranny. The Golden Age had vanished as perhaps it always vanishes. Mr. Aldington packed up and came to the United States where he now lives. And for all his nostalgia, one may say that he has not done so badly. He not only lived for a while in Arcady but he has written books about it. He has made an adequate living doing work he enjoyed. When one part of the world became unbearable he was able to retire to another, less so. Even with the Golden Age irrevocably liquidated, there have been worse fortunes than this.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN

Coming Soon in The Nation
"THE STRUGGLE FOR JUDICIAL SUPREMACY"
By Robert H. Jackson
Reviewed by Thomas Reed Powell

Your home deserves a
Custom-built Radio Installation



Everything you have wanted in a radio or radio-phonograph combination, can be yours with a Lafayette Custom-built Installation. In close collaboration with you and your decorator or architect, we will give you a truly individualized installation in complete harmony with any decorative scheme, and meeting all requirements of performance. The moderate cost of a Lafayette Custom-built Installation will be a pleasant surprise. We invite your inquiry.

Lafayette Radio
100 SIXTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N. Y.
901 W. JACKSON BLVD., CHICAGO • 265 PEACHTREE ST., ATLANTA
110 FEDERAL ST., BOSTON • 24 CENTRAL AVE., NEWARK
542 E. FORDHAM RD., BRONX • 90-08 166th ST., JAMAICA, L. I.

"ESPECIALLY TIMELY"

Based on sensational new information, this fascinating new biography throws new light on the life and career of one of the greatest revolutionaries of all times. Illus. $3.75

"This sane, well balanced biography is an excellent antidote to popular misconceptions of the Jacobin leader. . . . In these days, when the democratic revolution has reached its critical phase, this able, swiftly moving biography of the first great public leader to have faith in those watchwords is especially timely."—*Book-of-the-Month Club News*

Robespierre
AND THE FOURTH ESTATE
by Ralph Korngold

MODERN AGE BOOKS 432 Fourth Ave., N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN BRIEF

MY SISTER AND I: THE DIARY OF A DUTCH BOY REFUGEE. By Dirk van der Heide. Translated by Mrs. Antoon Deventer. Harcourt, Brace, and Company. $1.

This is a twelve-year-old boy's day-to-day story, amplified by himself, of what the *Blitzkrieg* means to an average middle-class family; and it is a document you will never forget. It lays directly before the reader the simple details of tragedy and endurance as they were burned into an intelligent child's memory. The basic facts of the experiences recorded here have been known before, but they have never been presented with such lack of self-consciousness, directness, and simplicity. It is a book of both human and historical significance.

DELILAH. By Marcus Goodrich. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.75.

Like a contemporary "Two Years Before the Mast," this novel evokes poignantly and at times almost lyrically what it meant to live and serve on a United States destroyer in 1917, during the six months before we entered the war. The U. S. S. Delilah, an "over-age" craft even at that date, churns up the South Seas on a score of arduous missions, and like a woman, commands the devotion of her oddly sorted crew as much for her crotchets and faults as for her sleekness and strength; yet Mr. Goodrich, who served for many years with the fleet, does not romanticize the buffetings that make up a large part of life on the tough, mettlesome little "black boats."

THE GREAT AMERICAN MYTH. The True Story of Lincoln's Murder. By George S. Bryan. Carrick and Evans. $3.75.

From a really vast background of study of manuscript sources, newspaper files and other contemporary accounts, there emerges a fairly clear picture of the actual happenings connected with the assassination of Lincoln, as distinguished from the insoluble mysteries created by the acceptance by different historians, and by the public, of conflicting legends founded on rumor. The author makes no pretense of solving these mysteries, and probably every reader will feel aggrieved that some story on which he was brought up is here waved aside with nothing to take its place. (Southerners particularly will not be satisfied with the treatment of Booth's motives.) The illustrations are enlightening as well as attractive. The index, compiled by Richard Webster, is of a rare completeness.

NOT FOR THE MEEK. By Elizabeth Dewing Kaup. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

The meek don't inherit the earth, or any appreciable part thereof, in this meaty, forthright novel about Martin Lyndendaal, a Danish immigrant who worked hard and purposefully, took what he wanted, and battered and cajoled his way to the ownership of a large steel mill. The point is grimly driven home at the end of the book; for, as Martin lies dying at seventy-three, recalling the highlights of his long, robust life, his native Denmark is being overrun by the Germans, who likewise have made no fetish of meekness.

PRESENTING MOONSHINE. By John Collier. Viking Press. $2.50.

A madcap collection of the eeriest, screwiest tales this side of Never-Never Land, by a man who is Dunsany, "Saki," and S. J. Perelman all rolled into one, not to mention Anatole France, Sax Rohmer, and J. B. Cabell. It shouldn't be missed by those who like to take their peris, goblins, and bottle imps straight, or with a grain of salaciousness and a dash of pungent innuendo.

DRAMA

Tragedy Is Not Easy

SOME ten years ago when Lynn Riggs's "Green Grow the Lilacs" was a current production of the Theater Guild its author was commonly set down as a more than usually promising young playwright who had chosen to cultivate the "folk play" rather than any one of the other more popular genres. Broadway has not been especially hospitable to the folk play (vide Paul Green), and despite two subsequently produced works Mr. Riggs rather fell out of sight. Now he has reappeared with an extremely ambitious and solemn piece called "The Cream in the Well" (Booth Theater) which the Guild is sponsoring, though Wharton and Gabel are listed as producers. Here the time is 1906 and the scene Indian Territory—which is familiar ground for the author. But "The Cream in the Well" is not really folk drama. It is, in intention at least, high tragedy. It does not, that is to say, exist for the purpose of exhibiting the "manners" of a particular scene but for the sake of the passions portrayed, and Indian Territory in 1906 is merely a local habitation. The scene might be New York City or Singapore without essentially changing the play, and, as a matter of fact, the remoteness and relative unfamiliarity of the setting tend only to make the whole seem almost abstract.

The central character is the hellion daughter of a benevolent and hard-working farmer couple on a Cherokee allotment. Before the play begins she has already succeeded in separating her brother from his fiancée and in sending him upon an adventurous as well (one gathers) as a somewhat debauched career with the United States Navy. During the action she further succeeds, before her ultimate suicide, in driving the deserted fiancée to her death and in making a drunkard out of the weakling she herself has contemptuously consented to marry. Rather early in the play the audience has begun to realize what, it later appears, the principal parties concerned also understand, namely, that the girl is in love with her own brother and that her malice springs from conflict and frustration. In fact, near the end, the brother actually suggests that it would be better for them to yield to their impulses, that even unnatural love is less destructive than hate. But she is not able to face that possibility and prefers self-destruction instead.

Mr. Riggs writes, not only with obvious sincerity but also on a rather high level of literacy and competence. The result is that he holds the interest and commands respect. Yet it is impossible not to feel that the whole thing is somehow gratuitous, to ask what the play "means," why it was written, what it is ultimately "about." I have already said that it is not a folk play whose *raison d'être* is the presentation of a local culture. Neither is it primarily a psychological study, since the interest is not really centered in the psychological problem. And that leaves one asking for the sake of what it does exist.

Mr. Riggs, to be sure, might reply with a rhetorical question. "What," he might ask, "do 'Oedipus' and 'Agamemnon' mean?" "What, for that matter, did Mr. O'Neill's 'Desire Under the Elms' or his 'Mourning Becomes Electra' mean?" Such questions, however, suggest their own answers. Obviously it is not necessary for a play to "mean" anything in the sense in which the word is here being used, provided

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the passions revealed are really convincingly intense to a superlative degree. But they must be intense and convincing for beyond anything that is necessary in another kind of play. We easily grant our cooperation to the writer who is managing to amuse us. We demand somewhat more if he is presenting an interesting thesis, if he is proposing to demonstrate some truth we want to know. But we demand most of all of the author who invites us to a high tragedy. We resist it as we resist all things which are even superficially unpleasant or painful.

What's Hecuba to us or we to Hecuba? As the tired business man says, we have troubles enough of our own. We must, if the tragedy is really to succeed, be caught up and carried away in spite of ourselves. We must find ourselves concerned whether we want to be or not, too moved to ask why we should care. And if Mr. Riggs commands respect and holds attention without quite stilling question or complaint, the reason probably is simply that though his play is good it is not quite good enough to meet the requirements of the most difficult and exacting of dramatic forms —even though, as happens to be true in this case, it enjoys the advantage of a generally good production and a fine piece of acting contributed by Martha Sleeper as Julie, the unhappy sister. Several of the other parts are at least competently played, but Miss Sleeper's role is so much the most vivid of the play that other performers have little chance to shine conspicuously. She plays with a good deal of necessary restraint but she suggests very vividly Julie's hate and her suffering.

Any musical review which engages Willie Howard as principal comedian has made a very good start. It has also taken another promising step if it has acquired the services of Luella Gear to back him up. "Crazy With the Heat" (Forty-fourth Street Theater) did both these things and still manages to be something less than first-class entertainment of its kind. After a very feeble start it picks up somewhat, but it lacks the all but indefinable air of smartness which we have come to expect in Broadway musicals and though I know nothing of the previous activities of the producers many of the scenes suggest the more elaborate "production numbers" familiar in movie houses. In at least one scene, however, Willie Howard gets an opportunity to be very funny indeed. He is a Cossack singer in a Russian restaurant and a loving couple can't chase him away from their table because, as he explains, "I come with the dinner."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

There isn't much of a story in John van Druten's "Old Acquaintance" (Morosco Theater), and there is certainly no dramatic excitement, but it is a good show all the same. Mr. van Druten is a playwright who pulls no punches in exposing the shoddier aspects of his characters, but his sympathies run deep. Within the narrow confines of his play, which is greatly enhanced by the beautiful performances of Jane Cowl and Peggy Wood, he does a remarkable job of steering a group of civilized people through situations which bring out their pettiness and jealousies, without stripping them of their essential kindliness and decency. For all the smartness of the writing and sophistication of the plot, such as it is, Mr. van Druten's play conveys a peculiarly warm conviction that humanity, even on its less rarefied levels, is capable of a modest sort of nobility.

ROBERT BENDINER

ART

Greco for Greece

DOMENIKOS Theotokopoulos, a Cretan who lived in Spain and was given the nickname El Greco by the Italians, has been reclaimed for the Greeks on the occasion of his 400th anniversary by the Countess Mercati, Grand Duchess Marie and half a dozen other titled ladies who are raising baskets for the brave at Knoedler's and would probably have preferred getting their hands on Phidias whose origins are more certain. We know war is nothing to joke about; and for just that reason, we find it difficult to think of it as a pretext for an art show or to think, for that matter, of El Greco hastily called in like a specialty dancer at a masquerade ball, to raise money for relief. There is something absurd about associating the great painter with an Americanized Almanach de Gotha or visualizing him, profoundly melancholy as he was, with a Red Cross to bear.

However, the work of the worthy committee ends at the door with the entrance fee, and the rest is Greco, magnificent and miraculous. Sixteen of his paintings are on exhibit—"The Penitent St. Peter" is listed in the catalogue but absent from the walls—from the early "Purification of the Temple" to the late "Landscape Near Toledo" (1610) which Stephan Bourgeois, in his notes describes as belonging to the Cretan's third phase "when he became greatly interested in the influence of climatic changes on the human mind." Further on, Mr. Bourgeois becomes specific about the climate of Toledo whose "rapid desiccation due to its proximity to Africa produced [such] mental states . . . that its inhabitants were drawn toward extra-terrestial experience as though by a supernatural power."

We somehow must take objection to this quasi-scientific attempt—like the theory that Greco's distortions were due to astigmatism—to analyze a talent that essentially escapes definition. The creative act of genius is a little like death, subjective, mysterious, and yet universal. It seems an error on the side of pedantry to reduce it to a litmus test. Historically speaking, Mr. Bourgeois's climate seems to have had little effect on the development of Spanish painting in general. That atmosphere produced no painters of first magnitude before or after Greco's time until the advent of Velasquez. And yet many of the influences supposedly singular to the Cretan are to be found in Spanish art. From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, for example, we find a strong Oriental and Byzantine tendency in illuminated manuscripts, icons, and the early mural paintings at Toledo. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, two Italians, Gherado Starnina and Dello, began the invasion which ended with the school of exaggerated Italian manner (under Philip II) and actually retarded the development of any national painting in Spain. Llanos and Yáñez both studied under da Vinci and it was Charles V of Spain who said of Greco's master: "There are many princes but only one Titian." His son Philip II, on Titian's death, displayed a ruinous prejudice against native art and imported as many Venetians as he could obtain to decorate the Escorial, among them the inadequate Zuccaro. And out of all this confusion came Greco whose Greek origin may be factual but obscure, who hurried on to Rome, then to Venice, and actually spent three quarters of his working life in Toledo. His influences, like his biographical data, are incomplete and cannot be accounted for in terms of environment, religiosity, or reason. The landscape in question as a matter of fact has much the same *quality* that Greco brought to the painting of a face or the drape of a cloth, and might just as readily be a portrait of Xanadu as of Toledo

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for all its "tropic desiccation." That quality is luminosity, *ambiance,* there is no right word for it, the element which Taine in his *"Philosophie de l'Art,"* rediscovered for the Impressionists when he observed that "the principal personage in a picture is the light in which all things are plunged." (Later paraphrased by Carrière: "A picture is the logical development of light.") The most extraordinary factor in a canvas like the "Adoration of the Shepherds" or "Christ in Gethsemane" is not its palette or its almost contrived design, but its inner radiance which spreads and catches like fire, moving everywhere with such continuous intensity, that none of the painting's parts may be conceivably separated from its whole. The absence of that "perpetual motion" in both the versions of St. Francis at Knoedler's (there are more than fifty St. Francises credited to Greco) creates some doubt in this reviewer's mind as to their authenticity. The "St. Francis in Ecstacy" seems to bear all the recognizable marks of Greco, one might almost say his clichés, the tapering fingers and prominent cheekbones, the typical "Greco face," and yet the areas in the background are almost opaque, the Saint's sleeve stiff and his eye heavy, static. The same remarks may be made of "St. Francis in Prayer" hung near the superb "Portrait of an Unknown Man" whose brush strokes (if one compares the beards for example) belie the same hand. "The Portrait of El Greco or His Son," despite its obviously damaged condition, is unmistakably Greco in its central figure and in its likeness of the child, probably Greco's grandson. As for the others, they are Greco at his best, and Greek or Spanish, however deserving or meretricious the sponsorship, must be experienced in themselves, they cannot be adequately described.

CHRISTOPHER LAZARE

RECORDS

THE best—which is to say the most devastating—commentary on the "Henderson Stomp" and "Nobody" of Benny Goodman's new large band (Columbia 35820) and "Royal Garden Blues" of his new Sextet (35810) is Columbia's reissue of "Moonglow" (35839). This is one of the finest of the performances Goodman recorded with musicians assembled for the purpose in 1933-34—performances with the freedom, vitality, and exciting improvisatory invention of good "hot" musicians playing in small groups. Further commentary of the same sort is provided by the "hot" playing of Goodman and Muggsy Spanier on the previously reissued record of "Royal Garden Blues" made in 1931 by Ted Lewis with a special group (to say nothing of the reissued Beiderbecke record of the tune). In 1931 Goodman and Spanier were two "hot" musicians earning a living with "commercial" jobs —for example, in large bands—when they had to, and playing "hot" in small groups whenever they could—mostly in private sessions for their own pleasure, and sometimes in recording studios for pay. When Spanier organized a band of his own a year or two ago he made it one that satisfied his love of "hot" small-group performance; and rather than make it anything else he accepted financial failure and went back to a job in a large band. On the other hand Goodman, after those 1933-34 records, organized a large band and popularized a new "commercial" style with which he made a fortune; starting the Trio as a small group for improvisatory performance, he soon commercialized that too; and even with a fortune to make it possible he did not go back to a small band, and did not even make records like the 1934 "Moonglow" on the side. If it is true that the "hot" improvisation of small groups is what he loves best to participate in, it is a love he has kept from costing him a dollar; and one might say that in comparison with Spanier he has held uncompromisingly to doing what he doesn't care about, at a sacrifice of the smaller income he could have had by doing what he loved. And I won't say this is the reason, but it is interesting to note that Spanier last year gave us some of the finest jazz performances ever put on records, whereas Goodman not only gives us the smooth slickness of his "Henderson Stomp," but even with a small group produces only the sheer pretentious phonyness and sterility of much of his "Royal Garden Blues."

Columbia has reissued also a number of 1932 and 1933 Ellingtons (Set C-38; $2.50). On the first record (35834) is "Lazy Rhapsody," which is as fine example as I know of the Ellington composed piece put together out of the idioms of jazz and the styles of his players, and in this instance put together with simplicity and taste; but the same process operating with inferior material gives us the dull "Blue Ramble" on the reverse side of the record. I like also "Bundle of Blues" (35836) and "Drop Me Off at Harlem" (35837), except the growl trumpet passages, "Baby, When You Ain't There" (35835) moderately, the others not at all. Every Ellington record, that is, gives evidence of his skill in combining and spacing instrumental colors, his ear for sophisticated harmony; but not every one offers interesting musical ideas. Moreover the arrangements of tunes are often too elaborate and tricky and impose too great restraint on the soloists; and as someone who gets most pleasure in jazz from the Muggsy Spanier type of performance I like the simpler Ellingtons which leave more to be improvised and to be improvised with more freedom. Among recent records I like, then, only "Without a Song" and "My Sunday Gal" (Bluebird 10946), made by a small Ellington group headed by Rex Stewart, and parts of "In a Mellotone" (Victor 26788) and "Across the Track Blues" (Victor 27235), which have some fairly good solos in addition to their tricky backgrounds and ensembles.

Stewart does fine work in the 1930 McKinney Cotton Pickers' "I Want a Little Girl" reissued by Victor (Bluebird 10954); and he and Earl Hines are excellent in the recent Sidney Bechet New Orleans Footwarmers' "Stompy Jones" (Victor 27240). I have had great pleasure from the beautiful solo playing of Paul Mares, Santo Pecora, and Charlie Cordella in the 1925 New Orleans Rhythm Kings' "Everybody Loves Somebody Blues" (Bluebird 10956); and the 1932 Bennie Moten Kansas City Orchestra's "New Orleans" (Bluebird 10955) is enjoyable. I don't care much for Louis Armstrong's previously unissued "Last Time" and "Ory's Creole Trombone" (Columbia 35838), Bessie Smith's "Preachin' the Blues" and previously unissued "At the Christmas Ball" (Columbia 35842), and the 1930 Fletcher Henderson Baltimore Bellhops' "Hot and Anxious" and "Comin' and Goin'" (Columbia 35840); and I like only Joe Sullivan's piano solos in the 1932 Rhythmakers' "Oh Peter" (Columbia 35841). But I have enjoyed the recent "Blue Washboard Stomp" of Johnny Dodds's Washboard Band (Bluebird 8549), the Coleman Hawkins "Jamaica Shout" (Decca 3358), the playing of Teddy Bunn, Douglas Daniels, and Marlewe Marrio in the Lionel Hampton "Pig Foot Sonata" (Victor 26793), and the playing of Artie Shaw, Billy Butterfield, and Al Hendrickson in the Gramercy Five's "Keepin' Myself for You" (Victor 26762).

B. H. HAGGIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

The Refugee Council

Dear Sirs: Recent discussions in your pages of the duties of anti-fascist émigrés are marked by certain illusions. The task and the position of the political exile of today are very different from those of the romantic figures who were compelled to leave one or another European country in the period 1815 to 1859. Such changes always occur in history, even in much wider fields. A principle, an idea, a myth perhaps, renders, at a given moment such an essential service to the cause of freedom that it helps to change the situation radically —so radically that even the myth should share the changes, but it doesn't. It lives embalmed in its past glory, and everybody still salutes it even when it has become a lifeless formula. That is what happened to the national idea. When it was the outstanding force of European progress it gave us a Mazzini, a Cavour, a Kossuth. But when wider action became necessary to insure the democratic peace of the world, it contracted into nationalism—that caricature of patriotism. And the hateful stupidity of nationalism rises now to make us forget that the highest apostles of the idea of nationality in the nineteenth century never considered nations an end in themselves; during his long struggle for the freedom of Italy, from 1830 to 1860, Mazzini never ceased to proclaim that national freedom was but a station on the way to complete European union.

In an analogous sense the political function of the exile seems to me to suffer, in the present world and in the present war, from illusions and delusions which are a relic of the past. In the first half of the nineteenth century Italy gave Europe—and even America—the highest type of political and intellectual émigrés; to London came a great poet with Foscolo, the purest political thinker with Mazzini, scholar with Panizzi; to France, Maroncelli, Tommaseo, Princess Belgioioso; to America, the martyrs of the Spielberg who became professors at Columbia. They worked miracles for Italy, because before they spread the word nobody knew how cruel and mean was Austrian rule in the north, how corrupt was papal rule in Rome and Bourbon rule in Naples. Europe and America learned of these things from our exiles; whence the long tradition of respect for free Italy which marked all fields of political and intellectual life in England—with one exception: Queen Victoria hated Palmerson and Russell because of their sympathy for "those revolutionary Italians."

But now, alas, there is nobody to illuminate or to convince; everybody knows. When—until yesterday—political leaders acted against the interests of their country in favor of policies or of men mortally dangerous for the life of democracy, they well knew what they were doing.

The truth is that the world is no more divided by political frontiers but by the barriers between different social strata, in some of which the love of country is less potent than the fear of losing economic privileges. Did I myself not see in France last summer the ill-concealed joy of *gens de qualité* to whom the French defeat meant the end of the republic? That is why many exiles of today might repeat with Ghiberti, who added so much to the beauty of fifteenth century Florence: "Am I not more at home where I may live free than in my native land if there I am enslaved?" And that is why the exiles today are perhaps less exiles than a century ago, but at the same time enjoy less authority. Men with the moral prestige of a Salvemini or of a Sturzo were not listened to in England during the fateful Baldwin-Chamberlain period when they warned their Tory personal friends that fascism wanted war. I was not listened to in France when from the very first day I told all the Blums and Daladiers that the Nazi-Fascist invasion of Spain would become the first and probably irreparable defeat of France. Is it admissible that more attention would have been paid to assemblies of political émigrés—when we know the naive superiority complex of people "in power" toward the eternally "bitter, dissatisfied, dubious" elements of the political emigrations? (The quoted adjectives belong to the common vocabulary of all foreign offices.)

From our own point of view there is only one thing which we must hate even more than not to work for freedom; it is to pretend that we work when in reality we issue only "resolutions" and "orders of the day." Let us remember how non-existent has been the influence of the Second Internationale in spite of the fact that it was led first by Vandervelde and, after him, by de Brouckere—two men of great intellectual and moral force.

One last remark: I do not think that the form of action proposed by Señor Alvarez del Vayo might "lay the basis for the United States of Europe." The United States of Europe or, even better, a federation of free peoples, some in Europe and some out of Europe, is bound to come some day. But it will come sooner if it grows naturally out of some sort of union between two or three free nations, wise enough and generous enough to keep their covenant open to free newcomers. When I favored with all my strength the formation of the Little Entente and wanted Italy to be a sincere friend to the liberated peoples of Central Europe, my first idea was, of course, the creation of a common line of defense against a possible resurrection of some new mad German attempt at hegemony, but my deepest hope was to help the birth of a loose federation which might become a nucleus for future additions. That is why, at that time, I regarded as a very bad omen the blindness of the Polish rulers who resisted—out of nationalistic vanity—all my recommendations to join the new group. I observed with less surprise the selfishness of French statesmen, who did all in their power to transform the Little Entente into a mere pawn on the diplomatic chessboard.

Political exiles must—each in his own field—try to be near to those in power who work for democracy. Knowing the schemes and the lies of the totalitarian rulers, they must warn and inform all the time, but they must do it discreetly, even in a free country like America. We shall be much stronger if—having found at last statesmen who understand—we offer facts instead of solemn advice.

Eloquent victims? yes; most useful and loyal experts? yes. But why teachers?

COUNT CARLO SFORZA

New York, January 24

Dear Sirs: I am not interested in the destiny of any ruling dynasty. I am not concerned over the vested interests of any given social group. I am thinking of democracy—of its ideological struggle with Nazism. Even above that I am anxious about the struggle of the 150,000,000 men and women whose nations

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been conquered by the dictatorships of Europe.

The need is not only for a common front but for a joint program. Because they lacked what Hitler had—a plan—the democracies fell. Not the genius of Hitler but the weakness of the democracies brought on disaster. Since 1934 I had led a strong Czechoslovak movement which significantly was called "The Mobilization of Moral Power for the Defense of the State." Thus we were prepared—yet in vain.

After my escape to the United States, I wrote my "Ten Million Prisoners." It is my expression of gratitude and regard for this country. My time is spent traveling through the United States, organizing people of Czechoslovak origin for the defense of democracy. Our emigrant group is prepared. I speak to Americans gathered in clubs, schools, and churches. I broadcast and grant numerous interviews. I attempt to show that the real reason for the defeat of European democracies lay in their fatal shortcomings. This analysis is of a most useful kind for the American democracy. It is, indeed, a mirror held up to it. Whether they be united in a council, as planned by Mr. Del Vayo, or act as individuals, the exiles are in duty bound to do all they possibly can for democracy.

VOJTA BENES,
Superintendent General of
Czechoslovak Public Schools

New York, January 15

Dear Sirs: Mr. Del Vayo is right to remind those who have been saved from fascist terror of their duty of solidarity with the anti-fascist exiles still in Europe and of their not less important duty of active participation in the anti-fascist struggle. Only by carrying out his appeal can we justify our life in this country. All who have tried to fulfil these duties during the last seven years know the difficulties. But difficulties exist to be overcome.

Hitler has succeeded by dividing his opponents. We can defeat him by uniting them under the slogan—For Democracy. Hitler has won by brutal violence and by eliminating all possibility of changing the government in a constitutional way. He can be destroyed only by revolutionary action. This slogan and this action have been proposed by Del Vayo. And I agree. As a Spaniard he would exclude from the united anti-fascist forces only Señor Madariaga and the archdukes and charlatans to whom the appeasers confide the rebirth of a new Europe. As a German I propose to exclude also the Legitimists of the former imperial countries, particularly the Hapsburgs, the Wittelsbachs, the Hohenzollerns, and their dangerous puppeteers.

No exile knows now what role, if any, he can play in the revolutionary struggle in the various Nazi-dominated countries. That depends upon our heroic comrades now living and fighting over there. We can offer in all modesty only our cooperation. We need a short and clear anti-fascist program of action and a council of militant anti-fascists from all subject countries. Naturally we must act independently of the different governments in order not to be suspect in the eyes of the suppressed peoples in Europe. Men who are not interested in the continuation of our quarrels of the last ten years must organize in united action against fascism. Go ahead, Mr. Del Vayo! The time is ripe for action.

KURT ROSENFELD,
Former Member of German Reichstag

New York, January 14

Labor Education Service

Dear Sirs: May I call the attention of your readers to the activity of an organization that seems of particular importance in these days of challenge and threat to our democratic way of life. Labor is aware of the danger from within as well as from without and has developed its educational projects more and more during the last years. Its Labor Education Service has recently reorganized its Teachers' Registry to serve as a central place in the nation where all leaders and teachers in the workers' education field may register. All men and women who are prepared to put their services as discussion leaders or in other capacities at the disposal of labor classes and seminars are invited to register.

Another project of Labor Education Service may also interest you. A large number of persons who have been very active in the labor movement of one or another of the European countries have recently arrived in the United States. It is often difficult for them to get in touch with the labor movement of their new homeland. American labor, however, wants these new citizens as friends. In order to further mutual understanding Labor Education Service will open a class on American Labor in January, 1941, for newcomers who have been active in the labor movement of their own country and for those who are working in shops here. The class will be held in the evening in the form of a discussion group for two or three months. Further information can be secured at the American Labor Education Service, 437 West Fifty-ninth Street, New York.

TONI SENDER,
Secretary, Teachers' Registry

New York, November 20

Correction

Dear Sirs: A correspondent has called my attention to an error in my article, Labor's Catholic Bloc, which appeared in *The Nation* for January 4. The Chrysler strike in which the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists was influential took place in 1939, not 1937. The strike of 1937 was, of course, the famous sitdown strike; in 1939 the Chrysler workers struck again, and the A. C. T. U., as my article showed, played an important part in helping them to victory.

RICHARD H. ROVERE

New York, January 15

CONTRIBUTORS

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, former president of the India National Congress, shares with Gandhi the leadership of the movement for Indian independence.

JOACHIM JOESTEN, a German liberal journalist, prophesied the invasion of Denmark in his "Rats in the Larder."

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Portland journalist, was recently elected to the Oregon State Assembly.

W. H. AUDEN, distinguished English poet and critic, is now living in this country.

IVAN GOLL was a close friend of James Joyce for twenty years. He collaborated in the translation into French of Anna Livia Plurabelle.

PHILIP RAHV is an editor of the *Partisan Review*, a radical literary journal.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN, formerly associate editor of *The Nation*, is the author of "Those First Affections" and other novels.

CHRISTOPHER LAZARE, formerly art editor of the *North American Review*, is now assistant editor of *Direction*.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, $1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED